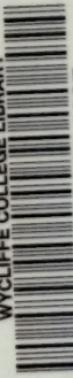


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ITS USE AND MISUSE

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RITUAL ITS USE AND MISUSE

CONSIDERED ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF
THE CHURCH'S DEBT TO THE LOST WORLD
AND THREE PAPERS ON
SOME CURIOSITIES OF PATRISTIC AND MEDIÆVAL
LITERATURE

BY THE
REV. N. DIMOCK, M.A.

MEMORIAL EDITION
WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY
THE RT. REV. H. C. G. MOULE, D.D.
BISHOP OF DURHAM

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
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AUCKLAND CASTLE,

BISHOP AUCKLAND,

December 21st, 1909.

THIS Memorial Edition is inscribed to the memory of the Reverend Nathaniel Dimock, M.A., by friends and disciples to whom his name is at once dear and venerable. In him the grace of God combined in perfect harmony a noble force and range of mental power, an unshaken fidelity to conscience and Revelation, and a spirit beautiful with humility, peace, and love.

“Remember your guides, who spoke unto you the Word of God, whose faith follow, considering the end of their walk of life.”

H. DUNELM.

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RECORDS OF PLANETS

AND COMETS.

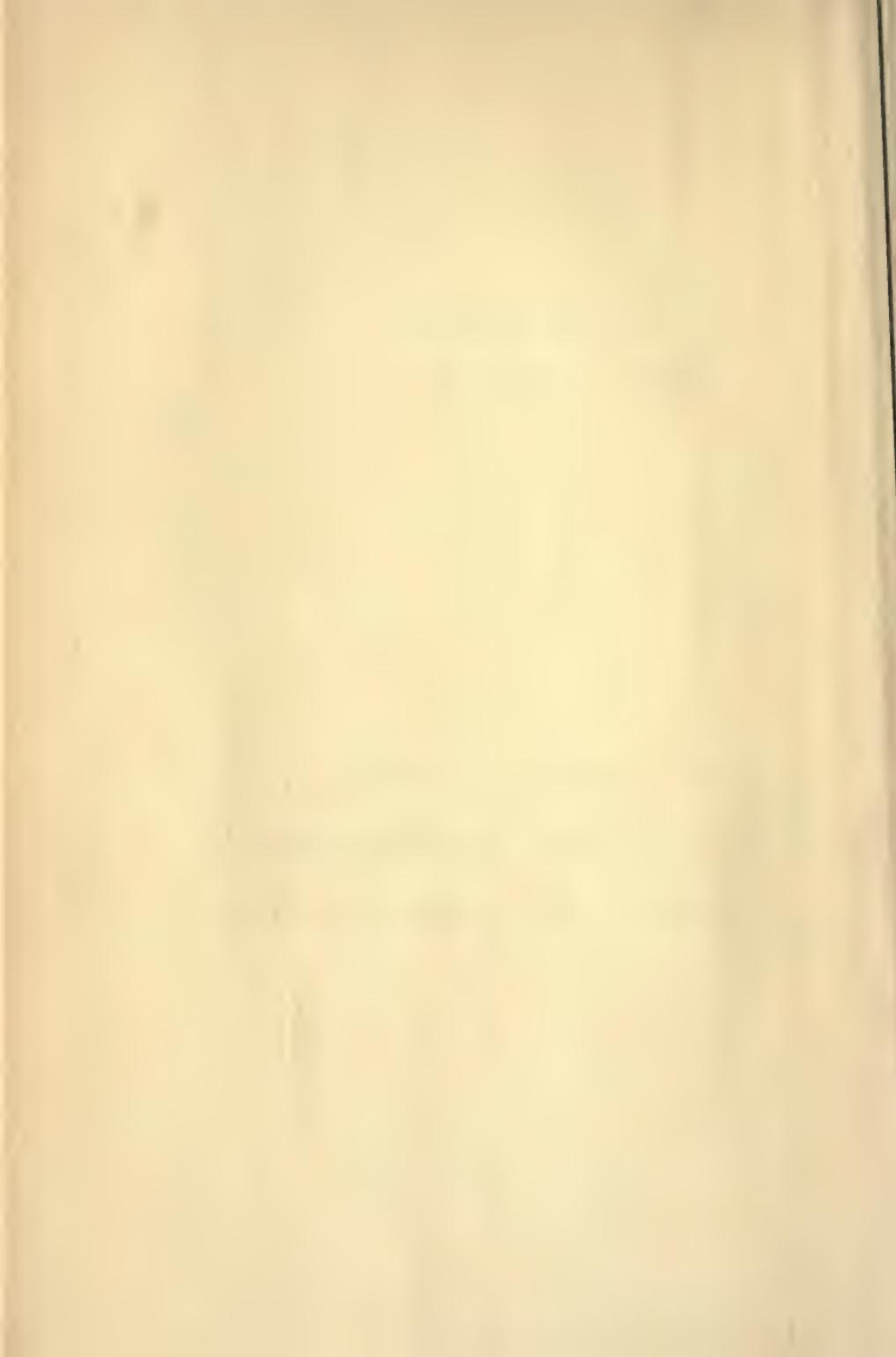
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CHAPTER I.

It will be well if recent events may lead the minds of devout Churchmen away from the question of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of certain ceremonial observances to the consideration of a much higher and wider and more important subject—a subject which has been of late years far too little regarded—I mean the subject of the **USE AND MISUSE OF RITUAL** in the worship which belongs to the Christian Church.

In venturing to submit some thoughts on this matter to the attention of Christians of the present day, let me say that I approach the subject not from the standpoint of Puritanism. I am aware, indeed, that appeal may be made to the writings of some of the Fathers in support of some of the Puritan positions. But I regret the hardness and severity with which Puritans obstinately (in face of lawful authority) sought to enforce their somewhat narrow and sometimes misguided persuasions, while I admire their faithfulness to the great fundamental doctrines of grace which they held in common with such Churchmen as Jewel and Hooker and Andrewes, in whose footsteps—not in the way of slavish following—I humbly desire to tread.

The true use of ritual—if I may express in one word what seems to me the true view—is to assist in raising earth to heaven. The abuse, or misuse, of ritual is the giving it over to the service of a vain attempt to bring heaven to earth.

The distinction needs explanation. The explanation may be brief.

At the root of the distinction lies the true view of redeemed

man, waiting for a while in this world of sin, and rejoicing in hope of the glory of God.

Strangers and pilgrims upon earth—convinced of sin by the teaching of God's Holy Spirit, yet knowing ourselves as baptized believers “washed and sanctified and justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God,” knowing the Divine love which has made us (who were in very deed God's outcasts, the children of His righteous wrath) to be the very sons of God, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven—we travel through this wilderness, walking by faith, not by sight, seeking a city which hath foundations, whose maker and builder is God.

Standing fast in this faith, we are to be ever hearkening to the word of Apostolic inspiration—“Forasmuch as Christ has suffered for us in the flesh, arm yourselves likewise with the same mind.” We may be thankful indeed for days of peace, we may bless God for being hurt by no persecutions, but we are ever to bear in mind that the normal condition of the Christian in this world is one of present suffering, of assured expectation of future glory.

As of old, God brought His people *out* “that He might bring them *in*,” brought them out from the house of bondage that they might know no rest till they entered the promised land of rest; so now Christ has brought us out that He may bring us *in*—brought us out from the Egypt of this world's Pharaoh, not that we may here be among the number of those who would be at ease in our Zion, delighting themselves in the invention of musical instruments like David, but that through a wilderness of woe He may bring us into His Father's house, where among its many mansions He is gone to prepare a place for us.

Now, if I am right in this, our ritual (I use the word in a wide sense for the sensible surroundings of our worship) should be all-subservient to this truth, should assist us in realizing it, should help our faith in rising above the things of sight and sense, should stimulate our hearts in pressing towards the mark for our heavenly prize. And so far as it

may minister to present joy or delight, it should be (in its ultimate aim) the joy and rejoicing which comes of our being carried out of ourselves, far away from and above the pleasures of sense, that we may be filled, not indeed with anything like the drunkenness of wine, but, to use Patristic language, with the sacred uplifting inebriation of Divine truth, the inebriation which comes of the holy ecstasies of faith, speaking to ourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in our hearts to the Lord.

This is the very truth of "Sursum Corda." And this, as I believe, should be the aim of all true use of ritual. It should be all-subservient to the purpose of raising earth to heaven, of bearing human hearts aloft on the eagle-wings of faith, that they may join with angels and archangels and all the company of heaven in lauding and magnifying the One Glorious Name.

To turn now to the abuse or misuse of ritual. I must speak for a moment of that which I know not from my own observation, but of that which I have gathered from the report of those who should know. I am under the impression that in certain churches in the United States is to be seen in its highest development the tendency which delights to combine what is called high ritual with the highest attainments in the art of what I will venture to call *religious luxury*. Churches, however, in which this combination is manifested are not to be sought and found only on the other side of the Atlantic. The same tendency, if I am not mistaken, is to be seen in many places much nearer home. Now, let us contemplate for a moment an extreme case—say, in one of the most wealthy suburbs of some great American city. Should I be very wrong in saying that whatever money can do to make the worship of God luxurious is there? Is not provision made at a great cost that every sense may be gratified there? And if this is so, have we not an instructive example of the abuse of ritual there?

What is the result? Looking to the natural tendencies,

there must be that which is to be deplored in the result. Effects may be produced and emotions may be deeply stirred which the deceitful heart of man (or woman) may delight in, and may easily mistake for devotion. And thus a very subtle and most dangerous form of Pharisaism may be cultivated, and the seeds sown broadcast to bring forth a plentiful harvest of what I must take leave to call the religion of unconversion.

“They return, but not to the Most High” (Hos. vii. 16). More literally, “They return *not* ON HIGH”; their hearts are not carried *heavenwards*. There is a returning not merely to *proprieties* and *respectabilities*, but to *religiousnesses*—a returning to take delight in religious functions, and advanced Church services, and ornate ceremonialism, and the cultivation of the most beautiful, most artistic, most elaborate Church music. But for the returning of the soul to God, what shall we say? Has all this tended to convince the soul of sin, and bring it to a saving knowledge of Christ? Where is the secret heart-hiding in the Rock of Ages? Where the true soul-rejoicing in the Rock of our Salvation? Where the joy and peace of believing?

But the congregation goes home with much self-satisfaction. “It was all heavenly.” Their hearts delighted in it. “It was just heaven upon earth.” “Sursum corda” has given place to “Deorsum cœlum.”

This is what I mean by the vain attempt to bring heaven to earth by the misuse of ritual in Christian worship.

If in this I am right, shall I be wrong in saying that there is great need of caution—not to say much call for heart-searching—in this matter?

We are all familiar with the word of the Lord by His prophet Isaiah, which (as it seems to me) indicates for us the true use to be made by Christians of the Lord’s Day. If we would “delight in the Lord” we must turn away our foot from doing or seeking our own pleasure on God’s Holy Day. We are to call the Sabbath a delight. But the delight is to be sought and found not in the way of doing our own

ways, nor finding our own pleasure, nor speaking [our own] words (Isa. lviii. 13). I do not mean, indeed, that we are to seek to bury the joy and gladness of the day which the Lord hath made in the sepulchre of legal severity, and lay upon it anything like the burdensome stone of Jewish Sabbathism. But I venture to think that it is to lead Christians in just the opposite direction to that indicated by the prophetic word, if it is made an obvious and prominent aim of our ritual to give to the congregation a striking spectacular delight for the eyes, an attractive musical treat for the ears, a sweet aroma of incense for the gratification of other senses, and something of a brief intellectual feast for the mind—a feast furnished with flowers of rhetoric, and language of poetry sweeter than flowers, with the flashing of brilliant thoughts and the flowing of words softer than silk and smoother than oil, with no arrows to wound the conscience or pierce the heart. To fill the senses with earthly delights—however they may be called “heavenly”—is not to make our worship subservient to anything like real delight in the Lord.

An American paper has lately expressed what it calls the prevailing sentiment thus: “Fine singing draws the crowd; the Church is behind the age without it. We do not wish to be annoyed by the discordant notes of congregational singing. We are progressive; we are ambitious; indeed, we are fashionable.”

At a Continental Chaplaincy many years since a grand German gentleman presented himself before me, and requested to be allowed to act as organist in our English Church for the next Sunday. He said: “If you will permit me, I will so play your organ that I will make your congregation devout.” He played once; never for me again. I daresay the service was much admired. To some it was probably a real delight—a musical treat. I don’t doubt it was grand; but I do doubt very much if for any it tended to devotion. There was a very feeble attempt to sing; there was too evident a straining at musical effect. Attention was all drawn to the artistic display of talent. The

artist had certainly not learned the truth that “*Ars est celare artem.*” The organ was everywhere; the singing was nowhere. It was a striking illustration of the saying of Hooker: “*In Church music, curiosity and ostentation of art . . . doth rather blemish and disgrace that we do than add either beauty or futherance unto it*” (“*Ecc. Pol.*,” Book V., chap. xxxviii., § 3).

The following Sunday I was glad to have the services of an English lady, who was far from being an artist, but whose simple and expressive playing of familiar tunes sufficed to support the singing. The organ was nowhere; the singing was everywhere—such singing as many times cheers and rejoices and really lifts up the heart in English congregations abroad. Who is there who has not felt at times the inspiring power of the human voice—rather, of the voice of a multitude of human hearts—and been almost disposed for a moment to be a convert to the teaching of such men as Chrysostom¹ and Theodoret and earlier Christian writers (Thomas Aquinas²

¹ “*Πσπερ οὖν ἰουδαῖοις διὰ πάντων τῶν δργμάτων, οὗτος ἡμῖν παρακελεύεται διὰ πάντων τῶν μελῶν ἀνυμνεῖν τὸν Θεόν . . . καὶ τὰ δργανα δὲ ἐκεῖνα διὰ τοῦτο ἐπετέραπο τότε, διὰ τε τὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ.*”—Chrysostomi, “*Expos. in Ps. cxlii.*,” Op., tom. v., p. 502; edit. Montfaucon; Paris, 1724. Cf. “*Expos. in Ps. cxlii.*,” p. 465.

Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα κατὰ τὴν νομικὴν ἐπετελεῖτο λατρείαν.—Theodoreti, “*Inter. in Ps. xxxiii.*,” Op., tom. i., p. 806; edit. Schulze; Halæ, 1769. Συνεχάρησε ταῦτα, διὰ τούτων αὐτοῦς ἐφελόμενος, καὶ τῇ ἐλάττῳ βλάψῃ κωλύων τὴν μείζονα, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀτελῶν προπαιδεύων τὰ τέλεια.—*Ibid.*, “*In Ps. cl.*,” pp. 1584, 1585.

An early writer, after telling of the rejection of instrumental music from the churches, adds: *καὶ ὑπολέειπται τὸ φροντίδων ἀπλῶς* (“*Quæst. et Resp. ad Orth.*,” in Op. Just. Martyris, p. 486; Hagæ, Com., 1742).

² In the “*Secunda Secundæ*” of Aquinas, *Quæst. XCI.*, Art. II., the question is discussed, “*Utrum in divinis laudibus sint cantus assumendi.*” And the words sometimes quoted as from Aquinas: “*Instrumenta musica, sicut citharas et psalteria, non assumit Ecclesia in divinas laudes, ne videatur Judaizare,*” come as from the mouth of one advocating the negative, which is not necessarily according to the mind of Aquinas. Nevertheless, the statement of fact is not questioned on the other side.

The following words from Aquinas’s conclusion on the question are well worth quoting: “*Ad primum ergo dicendum, quod cantica spiri-*

expressed somewhat similar views), who held that musical instruments (like animal sacrifices) were fit for Jewish worship, but were to be discarded from the higher and spiritual service of the Christian Church?

At a Chaplaincy in South America after an English service some years ago, a Roman Catholic priest (who, I suppose, had entered the Church to spy out the nakedness of the worship of heretics) came up to the Chaplain to say how deeply he had been affected. Indeed (I believe), he was moved to tears as he spoke. He had never, he said, experienced anything like this before. He went on (as I was assured) to say words like these: "You know, we have beautiful music in our churches—grand, magnificent masses; but our music is not like yours. Ours is of earth, yours is of heaven, and lifts up to heaven."

These anecdotes are mentioned merely for the sake of illustrating the distinction I have desired to draw.

tualia possunt dici, non solum ea quæ interius canuntur in spiritu, sed etiam ea quæ exterius ore cantantur in quantum per hujusmodi cantica spiritualia devotio provocatur. . . . Aug. dicit. in *ro Confess.* Cum mihi accidit, ut me amplius cantus quam res quæ canitur moveat, pænaliter me peccare confiteor, et tunc mallem non audire cantantem. . . . Hujusmodi enim musica instrumenta magis animum movent ad delectationem, quam per ea formatur interius bona dispositio. In veteri autem testamento usus erat talium instrumentorum: tum quia populus erat magis durus et carnalis; unde erat per hujusmodi instrumenta provocandus, sicut et per promissiones terrenas: tum etiam quia hujusmodi instrumenta corporalia aliquid figurabant" ("Summa," tom. vi., pp. 73, 74; Lugd., 1663).

It was not many years after the death of Aquinas (1274) that organs began to be brought into more common use in Christian churches. Organs, indeed, of some sort had been in use in royal palaces long before, and one had been sent as a present to Pepin by Constantinus Copronymus in 766. But there seems to be no good evidence of their being generally approved for use in the worship of Christian congregations before 1290. See Bingham, "Antiq.," Book VIII., ch. vii., § 14. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that the use of instrumental music was forbidden or altogether unknown before this. See Durandus, "Rationale," Lib. IV., cap. xxxiv., § 10, p. 236; edit. Neap., 1859; and Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities," vol. ii., p. 1524 *et seq.*

If I am right, it follows that ritual is most in true use when it least draws attention to itself while it most aids the aspiring motions of faith in the heart, when it assists the congregation in calling forth and giving natural expression to the heart's devotion with the least possible display of that which is artificial. And ritual is abused or misused in proportion as it aims at moving the admiration of the senses and producing delight, as an artistic performance, in the natural heart of man.

Perhaps I may be stating the case rather too baldly. But I shall hope to have another word to say on the subject in another chapter.

CHAPTER II.

I HAVE desired to make clear the distinction between a vain attempt to bring heaven to earth, which I regard as the misuse of Ritual, and the raising of earth to heaven, which I believe to be the true aim of all really Christian ritual.

I desire now humbly to submit for consideration whether we may not find in this distinction that which may be regarded as the true account of the fact (which will hardly be questioned), that Christian art and Christian architecture were reaching their high-water mark just at the time when Christianity itself was sinking into the mire, reaching the bottom of the pit, wallowing in the very lowest depths of degradation. It was the close of the fifteenth century which saw a man (to use the words of a Roman Catholic writer), "whose fetid life should have excluded him from the meanest office in the Church, elevated to the supreme pontificate by gross and manifest bribery."¹ But let us turn our attention for a moment to a building near home. It may serve very well for an example—an example which may doubtless serve as a sample, we will hope not a fair sample—of a state of things prevalent throughout what was called the Christian world.

¹ See *Weekly Register*, September 23, 1899, p. 417.

Our own abbey church of St. Albans is a monument to the memory of a famous Abbot, William of Wallingford, under whose rule there rose on high "that magnificent pile of buildings" whose ruins (to use the words of Mr. Froude¹) "breathe celestial music into the spirit of sentimental pietism." But under the rule of this same Abbot we are assured that the very aisles of this same magnificent structure were defiled with abominable orgies, with the mention of which the pages of this pamphlet must not be defiled.

The heart of man was glorying in the things on earth which it called "heavenly." But where was the power to raise the human heart from things seen and temporal to the things unseen and eternal—the things which are "heavenly" indeed? It is sad to think of such things. Yet it is right to take note of them. I speak this as myself an admirer of Christian art, and as having a very special delight in Gothic architecture. It is lawful for us to stand and admire, with great admiration, what Christian art and architecture have set before us. But in the midst of our admiration we must find room in our hearts for the acknowledging of the truth that Christianity has an aim in view, and a work to do, far too high to be greatly helped forward by the beauties of art or the enchantments of depraved and secular music.

In the midst of growing corruptions it may have been a true instinct which moved the Franciscans² (following herein the example of the Cistercians), in the beginning of their course of reformation (alas! it did not last long), while rejecting everything of the luxury of wealth, to refuse and cast away also every approach to ritual luxury of

¹ See "Short Studies on Great Subjects," Series III., p. 126, edit. 1898. Mr. Froude's condemnation of the religious houses in England (see p. 128) may be thought by some to be too sweeping and unduly severe. (See Trevelyan, "Age of Wycliffe," pp. 159, 160.) But the fruits of the monastic system were undoubtedly known and felt to be evil. In the case of St. Albans, the record of infamy is found in the letter of Cardinal Morton, whom Pope Innocent VIII. appointed to make visitation.

² See Milman, "Latin Christianity," vol. vi., pp. 43, 44, and Kurtz, "History of Christian Church," vol. i., p. 396, E.T.

devotion, and to make their services bare and simple in the extreme.

Possibly the commendation which the ancient Fathers bestowed on the times of glass or wooden vessels and golden minds, and the depreciation by some of the costly decking and adorning, with the manifold furniture of vestments which came into the Church at a later date,¹ may be pointing along a path of inquiry in which it may be found that, as a rule—not perhaps without exceptions—spiritual religion and real missionary zeal have made onward progress in inverse proportion to the care and pains and study

¹ See Bingham, "Antiquities of Christian Church," Book VIII., ch. ii.; Works, vol. ii., pp. 385, 386; and Griffiths' edition of Homilies, p. 260.

When a rich present of plate was sent to the Carthusians for the use of their church, it was sent back as useless to them. See Mrs. Jameson, "Legends of Monastic Orders," p. 126.

At a later date, in De Rancé's institution of La Trappe, "not only art and all ornament, but all literature, was banished" (*ibid.*, p. 167).

Augustine well says: "Pulchras formas et varias, nitidos et amoenos colores amant oculi. Non teneant hæc animam meam: teneat eam Deus qui fecit hæc, bona quidem valde; sed Ipse est bonum meum, non hæc" ("Confess.," Lib. X., cap. xxxiv., § 51).

The "godly and wholesome doctrine" taught in our Homilies (without pressing the language too closely) indicates very clearly what is the *general tendency* of the Reformed Church of England in her teaching on this matter. She denounces the "toys and trifles" of human devices, set up "to make a godly outward show, and to deface the homely, simple, and sincere religion of Christ Jesus" ("Of the Time and Place of Prayer," Part II., p. 348, edit. Griffiths).

From this the change to be approved is thus set before us: "They see the church altogether scoured of such gay gazing sights as their gross fantasy was greatly delighted with, because they see the false religion abandoned and the true restored, which seemeth an unsavoury thing to this unsavoury taste; as may appear by this, that a woman said to her neighbour, 'Alas, gossip, what shall we now do at church, since all the saints are taken away, since all the godly sights we were wont to have are gone, since we cannot hear the like piping, singing, chanting, and playing upon the organs that we could before?' But, dearly beloved, we ought greatly to rejoice and give God thanks, that our churches are delivered of all those things which displeased God so sore" (*ibid.*, pp. 349, 350).

bestowed on elaborate ritual, with attractive music and imposing ceremonial, with costly artistic surroundings of the service of the sanctuary.

I may be wrong, but I very much doubt whether any real support is to be found in the writings of the *early Fathers* for the principle which requires the accessories of Divine worship under the Gospel to be costly and exceedingly magnificical. St. Augustine (misunderstanding, perhaps, the forty-fifth Psalm) says that “all the beauty of the King’s daughter is *within*” (Ep. xxxvi., Op., tom. ii., c. 77; edit. Ben.; Paris, 1689). And I question whether it can be well said that “the ceremonial of the New Testament has the stamp of Divine approval,” as signifying that “the Temple is faithfully continued in the Church.” Where—Temple worship rejected, and local centralization no longer approved—all true worship is to be essentially *ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ*, there “the beauty of holiness” must be inward and spiritual. And how otherwise are we to account for the fact that throughout the whole of the New Testament there is not a single precept concerning ritual, unless we press 1 Cor. xiv. 40 into the service?

At the time when, in the eyes of the world, the persecuted religion of Christ was arising from its low estate, and Emperors gloried in adorning its now magnificent temples,¹ and men’s eyes beheld with admiration the marble walls and gilded roofs and exquisite beauty of Christian churches, there were doubtless those the thoughts of whose hearts were looking to the true Temple of God, and doubting whether all this earthly glory would tend to the edifying of the true Church of Christ, builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit.²

I am not wishing at all to question the sincerity of those

¹ Justinian, when he had completed the rebuilding of the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, was heard to say: *Νενίκηκα σε, Σολομόν.* See Bingham, “Ant.,” Book VIII., ch. ii., § 3; Works, vol. ii., p. 389.

² It has been well said by one in earlier times: “Ecclesiam auro non strui, sed potius destrui.” See Bingham, “Ant.,” Book VIII., ch. ii., § 1.

who profess their desire "to establish a school of art, not meant to flatter the passions of the sons of Adam, but to guide and rule the feelings of the regenerated children of the Catholic faith." And I am not, of course, questioning for a moment (God forbid!) that Divine worship rightly claims from man that which is his *best*. I only mean that man's *best* here is not that which is outward and visible at all, and that the *best* of that which is material here is just that which best subserves that which is inward and spiritual. Still, it must not be supposed that such a view necessarily gives a rude dismissal to the service of all that can be called Christian art. It may find employment even for the highest art, in the truest and highest sense of the word—only for art which must be bidden, as a servant, to remember its place. Surely, blessed may be the use of Christian music and Christian song, truly consecrated to the joyful service of our King. But I do rather question whether high art or high ritual, even when ordered humbly to minister to faith, is ever of so important a service as some imagine in assisting faithful souls to realize the truth that already we are come unto Mount Zion, the city of the living God. Those who have lived long under the shadow of St. Peter's at Rome may tell much of the imposing effect of gorgeous processions and magnificent ceremonial and delectable music. But some will tell also of impressions produced which were suggestive of association with the pomps and glories which belonged of old to the worship of pagans, and of dangerous resemblance to the pomps and vanities of this wicked world. It has been said by one who has deeply studied the subject of Italian art:¹ "The spirit of figurative art is always bringing us back to the dear life of earth, from which the faith would sever us." There is (or to ordinary minds there seems to be) such an exceeding contrariety between the stupendous solemnities and the beatific beatitudes of faith on the one side, and the littlenesses and prettinesses

¹ See Wainwright, "Ritualism and Reformation," pp. 297, 302, 307 *et seq.*

(which to some seem the puerilities and inanities) of many ritual *minutiæ* (not to say *ineptiæ*) on the other, that it is scarcely to be wondered at if those who have been deeply impressed with the one should manifest sometimes (perhaps too often) a disposition to be tolerant of—to think scorn of—the pains and travail so religiously and fondly bestowed by some on the other.

Man must have a religion. But the human heart finds it so hard to yield itself to the precept “Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world,” that it would fain degrade Christianity to the office of making this world a more desirable world to inhabit—making this mortal life better worth the living—and with this view making its ritual and the artistic accessories of its worship minister (in some sense and in some measure) to the lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes and the pride of life, instead of obeying its call to seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God.

Is it to be much wondered at if those who have had real experience of the soul agony which comes of the burden and dominion of sin, and have found peace and victory through our Lord Jesus Christ, should be moved to ask—How can this excessive concern about the small things of ritual find place and lift up its head in the presence of the personalities of religion as seen in the light of the Gospel of the grace of God?

Of course, if once you admit the principle that ritual beauty and ceremonial worship are what God desires, and that with such sacrifices He is well pleased, then nothing that can contribute to outward splendour and attractive grandeur in His service may ever be despised; and then the heart's true devotion may be turned (as I doubt not it sometimes has been turned) into the channel of exceeding carefulness about such things as crosses and colours and fringes and flowers. But the important question for us is this—Does any such principle find real support or encouragement in the light of the unveiled glory of God as revealed to us in the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ?

Let the answer to this question be sought by the devout and intelligent Christian first and chiefly from a general and comprehensive view of the teaching of Holy Scripture. In this view things will be seen in due proportion. And in proportion will be seen the measure of importance. But let special attention also be directed to one most instructive saying of our blessed Lord, our familiarity with which may perhaps have tended to deprive it of its full significance. It is the answer of Christ to the woman who would fain have turned from the heart-searching and sin-condemning word of Christ to the question about the true centre of worship—Gerizim or Jerusalem. “The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship Him. God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth.” I must not stop to dwell on the deep teaching of these words, though I must ask my readers to dwell upon that teaching in the heart-silence of profoundest reverence. I will only just ask attention for a moment to the words *true* (ἀληθινοὶ) and *truth* (ἀληθεῖα). We should be misunderstanding the constant use of such words in the Gospel of St. John if we were to understand them as standing only in opposition to what is *false* or *fictitious*. They rather indicate that which has to do with the *inward truth signified* as in contrast to the *outward thing signifying*.¹ The *true* worshippers (ἀληθινοὶ προσκυνηται) are those whose worship has not to do with carnal ordinances, which served for a time for an example and shadow of things heavenly and spiritual, but with the *reality* of which legal types were mere outward signs. The types, the shadows, pass away. And the worshippers whose worship of old consisted in sacrifices and ceremonies at Gerizim or Jerusalem² are to

¹ So Origen: Ἀληθινὸς, πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν σκιὰς καὶ τύπους καὶ εἰκόνος (“In Joan.,” tom. ii., § 4). See especially Trench, “Synonyms of New Testament,” pp. 26, 27. See also Godet, “Commentary on St. John,” vol. ii., pp. 116, 117, E.T.

² See the excellent commentary of Chrysostom, “In Joan.,” Hom. XXXIII., Op., tom. viii., pp. 191, 192; edit. Montfaucon; Paris, 1728.

pass away too, or to be transformed into those whose worship shall be inward and spiritual, who shall worship in spirit and in truth—in the *truth* foreshadowed by legal ordinances. And these will be the worshippers such as God, who is a Spirit, is seeking. These shall not have to go up to Jerusalem to worship: for these shall be the *true* worshippers, worshippers not in symbols belonging to a local sanctuary, but in the *truth* which belongs to the Jerusalem which is above, which is free, and the mother of all.

CHAPTER III.

IN the present chapter I desire to take a step forward, that from a new standpoint we may take another view, which may help us to form a right judgment concerning the use and misuse of Christian ritual.

There are certain facts, obvious and notorious, which, in the light of Christian common-sense, should serve to show us the true place of ritual in the service of the Christian Church, and to point out the danger of its being allowed to take a place which does not belong to it in the energies and exercises of the Church's spiritual life.

The fact can hardly be too strongly emphasized that throughout the whole of the New Testament there is not one word of instruction concerning Christian ritual, not one word of direction as to its use, not one word to encourage its careful cultivation, not one word to indicate that in times

Cajetan well says: "Ecce exclusio cultus in templo. Et per hæc duo exclusa loca, intelliguntur exclusa omnia alia loca. . . . In *spiritu*, non in monte, non in Hierosolymis, non in loco aliquo, non cultu temporali, non lingua, sed interiore cultu consistente in *spiritu*" ("Evang. Com.", f. 153; edit. 1530).

There is nothing, of course, in our Lord's words condemnatory of suitable external signs of devotion. And none will contend that outward forms, such as bowing the knees and lifting up holy hands, may not be aids conducive to spiritual worship. But the truth remains that the worship of the New Covenant is, by our Lord's teaching, not outward, but inward. The presenting our *bodies* as a living sacrifice (our *λογικὴ λαρπέλα*) is an inward and spiritual act.

to come its elaboration should be diligently aimed at, not one word of rebuke for its neglect, not one word of regret for its absence, or reproach for want of due attention to its details.

The sayings of our blessed Lord which have sometimes been made much of—such as the word concerning the bringing of “the gift to the altar”—are evidently precepts which take their shape and form as adapted to the ritual of the Old Testament then in force—to the service of the Jews, as Jews, in their Temple at Jerusalem.

The injunction of St. Paul that all things should be done “decently and in order” ($\epsilonὐσχημόνως$ καὶ κατὰ τάξιν—1 Cor. xiv. 40) when appealed to (as it is) for evidence of a ritual precept, testifying to the importance of Christian ceremonial, needs but to be read in connection with its context. It will then be seen clearly how utterly it falls short of reaching any such goal as that for the purpose of which it is quoted. Indeed, the very fact of this text being quoted at all for such a purpose can only be regarded as evidence of the hopelessness of the search for any injunction in the New Testament that really will avail to serve the purpose of those who would fain bring evidence from Scripture for the importance of Church ceremonial.

Equally vain is the appeal to the symbolism of the Apocalypse,¹ in the vision of the worship of heaven, as if this were revealed for a pattern to be followed in the worship of the Church upon earth. Viewed in relation to the marked absence of all ritual observance and ritual instruction in the writings of the New Testament, it can but serve to give emphasis to the very significant fact that, with such glories set before its *faith*, the Church of the living God—the Church of the New Covenant—has no mandate (as the Church of the Old Covenant had) to fashion a ceremonial service for *sight*, after a pattern shown in the mount.

In the face, then, of this proposition—that, in the sacred

¹ See Dr. Rock's “Hierurgia,” p. 188, second edition, and “Lord's Day and the Holy Eucharist,” pp. 55, 56.

Canon of the New Testament Scriptures, with instructions for the future from our blessed Lord Himself, with Apostolic admonitions addressed to bishops and presbyters, with long epistles of doctrine and warning and directions to various Churches, we find nothing but a marked silence as regards Christian ritual—an entire absence of any sort of provision for the ceremonial of the Christian Church—we can hardly fail to be led on to make the inquiry, “ How is this to be accounted for ? ” And all the more—when we mark the contrast with the ordinances of Divine service given to God’s people before—all the more we are constrained to ask, “ Why is this ? ” “ Surely,” we say, “ some cause for this there must be. How is this very remarkable absence in the writings of the New Testament to be accounted for ? ”

And when we learn that attempts have been made to account for it by those who maintain the religious importance of Christian ceremonial and the sacred character of the Church’s ritual, and would have us persuaded that in this silence of Scripture there is nothing that militates at all with their high view of the Divine symbolism and the glorious magnificence rightly pertaining to the due celebration of the Christian mysteries, we can hardly do otherwise than inquire, with some interested and expectant inquiry, “ What are the causes alleged as accounting for the phenomenon we have in view ? And are they sufficient to satisfy the demand of Christian common-sense ? ”

Let us look at them for a few moments, and endeavour fairly to estimate the value of the arguments which can be urged in their favour.

I. We know that during the great forty days before the Ascension, our blessed Lord charged His Apostles to teach the baptized to observe all things whatsoever He had commanded them (Matt. xxviii. 20). And in the Acts of the Apostles we are distinctly told that in the course of this period He was appearing unto His Apostles, and speaking of the things concerning the kingdom of God (Acts i. 3).

“ What, then,” it may be asked, “ more natural than to

suppose that He was then giving instructions to His Apostles concerning the ordering of all things pertaining to the order and discipline, the worship and ritual, as well as to the government¹ of His Church? And how can we suppose

¹ Thus, it has been said: "To the faithful it becomes abundantly clear that the order and discipline of the Church, no less than its doctrine, were instituted by Christ Himself—were part of the deposit committed by Him to the Apostles" ("The Lord's Day and the Holy Eucharist," p. 61).

To this theory has sometimes been superadded a strange parasitical conception, according to which the sacred *deposit* committed to the Apostles is viewed as a germ out of which future regulations for the Church were to be developed. Thus, Father Clarke, S.J., writes: "In this passage it [the kingdom of God] has *reference* to the Church on earth. *It informs us* that our Lord instructed His disciples on the nature of the Church which He had come to found on earth, its *constitution*, its *government*, its *discipline*, its Sacraments, and, above all, on the sacred doctrines which it was commissioned to teach mankind. . . . Hence it follows that every dogma that has been defined from then till now is a part of this inviolable and exclusive body of doctrine. Every decree of Councils, every infallible utterance of Popes, is but the *unfolding* of some further portion of this body of doctrine which had *not been previously unfolded*" (quoted from *The News*, March 9, 1900, p. 286). If we understand this aright, we seem driven to the conclusion that the decisions of the Church and of the Pope are not the outcome of *what is or was known* to be contained in the deposit; but that what is contained in the deposit is *to be known* by the decrees of the Church (see Wordsworth on *Apocalypse*, p. 132). And it follows that the changes in the religion of Western Christianity—so changed from that of Apostolic times—are due to that which was indeed *in* the deposit, but which was *not known* to be in it till a Council or a Pope determined and decreed that so it should be. In the light of Christian common-sense, is not this a specious but very subtle form of teaching for doctrines the commandments of men? How was a similar process in the earlier dispensation dealt with in the Word of the Lord by His prophet? "How do ye say, We are wise, and the law of the Lord is with us? But, behold, the false pen of the scribes hath wrought falsely" (Jer. viii. 8, R.V.); or, rather, "Verily, lo! the lying pen of the Scribes hath made it—the law—into a lie." See Dean Payne Smith *in loc.*, and additional note, pp. 381, 382, in "Speaker's Commentary."

Compare the following: "For this reason, the text cited [1 Cor. xi. 24] is not found to be quoted by the earlier Fathers as proof of the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. It remained for the divines of a later age to find in it a strong corroborative proof of the current doctrine of the Church concerning the Blessed Sacrament. Nor is it any argument

that directions as to the important details of ceremonial were omitted?"

There is much which at first sight is attractive and plausible in this plea. But when it is further urged that to admit this is to admit that which makes all written direction superfluous, and therefore sufficiently accounts for the silence of the New Testament Scriptures, we are brought face to face with a very serious difficulty.

We are constrained to ask—Is it in accordance with what we should expect?—much rather, Is it in accordance with what we know of the Divine dealings in relation to man, that important precepts and ordinances to be observed by all as of Divine authority should be, not committed to writing, but simply trusted to a human tradition secretly committed by word of mouth to a select few?

Let this question be examined in the light which may be shed upon it from the history of the Old Testament, and from the sayings of our Lord concerning traditions in the New, and we can hardly believe that the answer will be doubtful.

But the fatal blow to any such claim will be found in this—that the assertion of such a tradition has to meet the opposition of tradition itself. The time *did* come when for certain ritual practices it was claimed that they had their origin in primitive tradition. Now, what was meant by this primitive tradition? The claim which this tradition commonly made was the claim, not of directly Divine precept,

against this interpretation of the text to say that it is not primitive, since in every word of our Lord is hidden a depth of meaning which is only fully revealed in the course of ages" (Rev. Provost Ball, preaching on Festival of C.B.S. at St. Alban's, Holborn, as reported in *Church Times*, June 12, 1896, p. 687).

How will this theory of the unfolding in the course of ages of hidden truths unknown to the Christian antiquity, but now to be held as *de fide*, agree with the teaching of Holy Scripture? How can it be made consistent with a rule of "quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus"? How can it be made to stand beside the truth of the "ONE FAITH" "once for all delivered unto the saints"?

not of the ordering of the Saviour Himself, but the claim of simply *Apostolic* authority—the claim of having been ordered by the authority or power committed to the Apostles of Christ.¹

II. And what shall we say, then, of *this* claim—the claim of *Apostolic* as distinct from *Divine* authority? It is the claim which is most strongly insisted on, and it is no novelty of modern Roman invention. The germ of it, at least, must in fairness be acknowledged to be of ancient days. But here, again, in the light of Christian common-sense, we are of necessity called to ask certain questions before allowing ourselves to be led to a definite conclusion.

1. First, we naturally ask how far any evidence for or against this theory may be taken out of Holy Scripture.

And, not to make too much of incidental allusions, it must be acknowledged that, as regards Apostolic practice, there is, to say the least, nothing suggestive of ornate ritual or ceremonial service in what we read of the Apostolic Christians continuing steadfast in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in the breaking of the bread and in prayers.

Shall we think that in those days of the early freshness of joyful Christian faith, when holy men were seen breaking bread from house to house, they took with them whenever they went that which should serve to give outward magnificence and glory to the service of their Eucharists?

But to pass this by, what shall we say of the view which is set before us of the practice in the Corinthian Church, and of the Apostle's method of dealing with its errors?

Not many, I think, will be disposed to maintain that much ritual was in use when the Christians at Corinth met together to receive the Lord's Supper. The Apostle's rebuke was sharp and severe. Can we wonder? They met to-

¹ Not, indeed, without exceptions. Such statements, however, as that of Dionysius Barsalibi, that the Liturgy of St. James, as it existed in the twelfth century, had been received by the Apostle James from the lips of our Lord Himself (see Renandot, "Lit. O. Collectio," tom. ii., p. 74), are scarcely worthy of being taken into serious account.

gether, not for the better, but for the worse. They came to eat and to drink. It was a breaking of bread, but the supper was not the supper of the Lord. The rebuke was severe; but in the word of rebuke there is nothing found of reproach for the absence of ordained or suitable ritual. In the word of correction, is there anything to be found in the way of injunction to add in future some magnificence of ceremonial to their service of memorial? Mark well what it is which the Apostle *does* rebuke, and what it is that he *does* enjoin, and then say—Is it conceivable that this could have been accounted an adequate mode of dealing with the irregularities in the practice of the Corinthian Church, if the desire and purpose of the Apostles had been to surround the Eucharistic service with anything like the ordinances pertaining to the ceremonial law?

On such a hypothesis, some ceremonial details might well indeed have been left to be regulated among the things which the Apostle would “set in order” at his next visit to Corinth. But the injunction of some ritual adornments would have been a matter of very urgent and immediate and pressing necessity.

2. But not to press further the Scriptural argument—which, however, is certainly of great weight in the scales of Christian common-sense—let us turn to regard this claim of a traditional ritual handed down from Apostolic ordinance in the light which is shed upon it from tradition itself.

Let it be admitted that in early times certain customs and practices, which may be classed under the broad sense of ritual, and which became prevalent and perhaps Catholic, being not mentioned at all in Holy Scripture, were defended or maintained as having descended by unwritten tradition from the times of the Apostles. In some cases this plea was certainly a mistake; in other cases the claim may well be questioned. But anyhow, as regards this matter of ritual accessories of glory to the Eucharistic Service of the Christian Church, there are some important questions to be

asked, the answers to which may be given by the known facts of history, and by the testimony of tradition itself.

Let us begin with asking, Was anything like the Missal Service of the Church of Rome, with its adjuncts of ceremonial grandeur, known in the Church in its Apostolic and primitive days?

In answer, we may take the witness of ancient Romish liturgical writers, who will tell us when and by whom various parts of the Romish liturgical service were added in the course of ages. But we also receive abundant testimony from history and from tradition as to the simplicity of the Eucharistic Service in the Apostolic days of the Christian Church.

We can take witness, not only from various liturgical writers of lesser note, but from Popes of high esteem, to the tradition that the Apostles were wont to celebrate the Lord's Supper simply by the recitation of the Lord's Prayer.

But, further, we can take witness from ancient times. And one of our witnesses shall be one who is relied upon for the claim of ritual customs derived from Apostolic tradition—a witness to the fact that this simplicity of the Church's sacramental services was not to be regarded as a temporary and deplorable accident inseparable from the low estate of the Church in those days, but was to be regarded—as in contrast with the pomps of non-Christian worship—was to be regarded (I say) as that which the Christian Church not only preferred, but accepted, and accepted as that which was most fitting, as *the* suitable accompaniment of Christian Sacraments.

Further still, we can question tradition as to the first beginnings of Christian ritual, and we shall find, in answer, discordant statements. We shall hear witness after witness testifying to different traditions as to the ritual of early times which can never by any ingenuity be reconciled one with another. Can we believe that these are Apostolical ordinances? We leave it for Christian common-sense to answer the question.

III. But there is another cause assigned to account for the absence of ritual precepts in the New Testament.

The Early Church was largely composed of converted Jews. These Jews were, of course, familiar with the use of much attractive ceremonial in the worship of their Temple. These men would naturally understand that, as the Christian Church was the true continuation of the ancient Church of their Fathers, so the Temple worship in its glory should be continued in greater glory under the New Testament; and if the offering of typical sacrifices was suitably accompanied in the former dispensation with special ceremonies, with elaborate rites and gorgeous vestments, much more should the offering of the one true sacrifice of propitiation be accompanied by all that could serve to make its ritual surroundings exceedingly magnifical.¹

Is there anything which fairly can be urged, or ought to be urged, as against the force of this plea?

Clearly all that has been argued as against the claim of Divine and Apostolic authority for the ritual of the Christian Church avails against this plea so far as it avails to show that the force of the argument was unheeded and unrecognised by Apostles and Apostolic Christians.

But it is open to the pleader still to ask the question:— If it were so, that in the first ages of the Christian Church the truth of this matter was unheeded or too little regarded, are we sure that this did not result from the pressure of circumstances, and, in fact, that early Christians were not in error in not recognising what was suitable for the sacri-

¹ Professor Perroë, after appealing to the sacrificial ceremonies enjoined by God Himself under the law (including such matters as the form of the altar, the vestments of the priests, the number of the lights, the burning of incense "aliaque id genus plurima," all for one main purpose, viz., "Dei ultus et honor"), adds: "Quanto igitur magis ad Sacrificium nostrum egali quovis Sacrificio sanctius et excellentius commendandum, Ejusque augendam venerationem decuit certas aliquas ceremonias ab Ecclesia præscribi, ut maxima, qua fieri posset, exteriori solemnitate et religiis significatione perageretur?" ("Prælectiones Theologicae," vol. iii., cap. iv., prop. iii., p. 277; Paris, 1856).

ficial service of the Church, and thus failing, in the matter of ritual, to give to the Lord the honour due unto His name?

The answer to this question is to be found in the inspired teaching of the New Testament, unfolding in the light the teaching of the Old in the dark, and showing the essential difference between the two dispensations. Typical shadows of a work which *had to be* accomplished—shadows *for sight*—were suitably accompanied with what was glorious for sight to behold. We want not shadows for sight in the midst of the glories revealed for our faith.

The glory of the New Testament is in the great work of which it is said: “**IT IS DONE.**” The glory of that work is to be beheld, not by the eye of sight, but of faith. It would be a very degrading of its glory indeed to think that it could be added to by any ritual objects of sight, or any cunning device of the art or devotion of man.

Heaven is open; the veil is rent. The sacrifice of the Son of God has done its work. “*It is finished!*”

Is this claim of ritual splendour made because of the honour due to the Sacrifice of the Mass? It is sad indeed to read such words as these: “Our Communion Office is, and will continue to be, the Mass in masquerade till it is performed with the externals accustomed to be used in the rest of the Western Church” (“Lord’s Day and Holy Eucharist,” p. 33).

Let Christian common-sense be asked to view such claims for gorgeous ritual to accompany the offering of the sacrifice of the New Covenant, the continual offering of Christ as a propitiatory sacrifice, a sacrifice for sins, in the same view with a truly inspired saying, which stands as a word of instruction and warning as to the true essential difference between the Old Covenant and the New: By one offering He hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified. Whereof the Holy Ghost also is a witness to us, for after that He had said before, This is the covenant that I will make with them after those days, saith the Lord: I will put My laws

into their hearts, and in their minds will I write them. AND [He addeth] their sins and iniquities will I remember no more. Now where remission of these is, there is no more offering for sin [or offering for sin is no longer] " (Heb. x. 14-18).

And if then, in the view of Christian common-sense, all these causes alleged to account for the phenomenon we are considering are found to fail of their purpose, what shall we say? Must we confess that it remains an unaccountable fact, the cause of which can never be known? Assuredly not, when there is one cause which suffices to account for all these facts, and fully to explain the attitude of Apostles, and the teachings of Apostolic men, and the views of early Christian writers. If, then, it is asked—What is that cause which can thus act as a solvent of so many difficulties and present a clear and consistent view of the whole matter we are considering? then the answer may be very simply given: All these matters of ritual and ceremonial are comparatively of no moment in view of the stupendous miracles of grace revealed in the Gospel of Christ.

Let this answer be well considered, well examined, well put to the test. There is no fear of its being put to shame in the fair judgment of Christian common-sense.

CHAPTER IV.

OUR last chapter concluded with an insistence on the low esteem to be attributed by Christian common-sense to matters of ritual and ceremonial. It was said of such things that, in a true view of the Christian Revelation, all such matters are "*comparatively of no moment*." What is meant by this comparison? Ritual is of no moment in comparison of what?

A very few words in answer to this question—which is most important—may suitably be added in the present chapter.

The whole answer may very well be summed up in two short words: (1) COME and (2) Go.

1. The first word, "*to come*," means to obey the call of a

personal God speaking to the ear of a personal soul. Will any say that there is no such call in the Word of God? Will any deny that the Word of God resounds with its echo? If this is so, how supreme the importance of obedience to this voice! Shall we wonder that, even in the days of Divinely ordered ceremonial, even under a dispensation of ritual, this *coming*, this seeking God's face, made all such positive precepts, highly important though they then were, to sink into comparative insignificance? ¹

And in this *coming* is a *returning*. It is not only for the benefit of Dumah that the Lord's watchman of the night has to publish the word: "If ye will inquire, inquire ye; return, come" (Isa. xxi. 12). "If thou wilt return, O Israel, saith the Lord, unto Me shalt thou return" (Jer. iv. 1, R.V.).² This coming with *return* testifies to us that the returning comers are God's own outcasts, sinners outcast unto death, outcast in righteous judgment, the children of God's wrath and condemnation. Hear the words of the Psalmist—of Moses, the man of God: "Thou turnest man to destruction; again Thou sayest, Return, ye children of men" (Ps. xc. 3). What a Divine marvel that *these* should be invited to come, even to return from their outcasting to the God who has cast them out, that from the far-off land of the great enemy the voice should be heard: "Come, and let us return unto the Lord: for He hath torn, and He will heal us; He hath smitten, and He will bind us up"! (Hos. vi. 1).

Ritual, the most solemn and impressive, can be no worship

¹ See Dean Payne Smith, in "Speaker's Commentary," on Jer. vii. 21-23, with the additional note on pp. 376, 377.

² Shear Jashub (*the remnant shall return*) is the prophetic name of One who was for a *sign* and a *wonder* (a mystery, a typical foreshowing) of the great miracle of mercy in the New Testament. So the year of jubilee (proclaimed on the Day of Atonement—a prophetic type of "the acceptable year of the Lord"—was fulfilled in the mission of Christ. And it was the Divine command: "In the year of jubilee *ye shall return* every man into his possession." (See Dean Payne Smith in "Speaker's Commentary," vol. v., pp. 93, 216.) This is the "return" of God's "bringing again." (See Kay on Ps. lxviii. 22, p. 213.)

in the New Covenant without this ; but this, without ceremonial, leads the hearts of converted men to that which is true worship indeed. The Father is seeking such to worship Him. These are the true worshippers, who (whether with more or less of outward signs and helps to devout adoration) worship the Father in spirit and in truth.

The voice from heaven to God's outcasts is, "Return, ye backsliding children, and I will heal your backslidings" ; and the answer of obedience, the only true heart-answer to that call "Return," is this, "Behold, we come unto Thee ; for Thou art the Lord our God" (Jer. iii. 22).

But in this *coming* of return is that which is full of Divine marvels, miracles of grace. It is a coming home to contemplate a Divine revelation of wonders, which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath entered into the heart of man to conceive. And therefore the call to *come* is coupled with a call to behold : "Come and see." See what ? Come and see a MAN who knows what is in man—a Man who can tell to every man all things that ever he did—who can testify to all men of the evil, the spiritual death, within, and the need of a new life for every soul of man ; and yet a Man of sorrows, who can grieve, and weep, and sob for the woes of the children of men, for the weariness and the griefs which have come upon man in his righteous outcasting, making men, through fear of death, to be all their lifetime subject to bondage. "Come and see" Him of whom Jehovah saith, "Behold My Servant, whom I uphold ; Mine Elect, in whom My soul delighteth" (Isa. xlvi. 1).

God's outcasts are as water spilt upon the ground, which cannot be gathered up again. Yet doth God, in Divine wisdom, devise means that His banished be not expelled (outcast) from Him (2 Sam. xiv. 14). It is part of His glory to be "a God of deliverances" (Ps. lxviii. 20, R.V.). To Him "belong the issues from death" (*ibid.* ; διέξοδοι LXX). He can *bring again* from the land of the enemy, even from the holding of Hades. He has said, "I will *bring again* from the depths of the sea" (ver. 22).

A rabbinical story tells us of some Jewish ladies who, being carried captives by Titus to Rome, said one to another the words of this promise, "I will bring again," and then threw themselves into the sea (see Kay on Ps. lxviii. 22, p. 213). We are not to be understood as expressing approval of the application when we say that we have evidence here of the true interpretation of a word, which is as one of the rays of Divine glory issuing forth from the name of our God.

It is this God of wondrous deliverances, this God whose glory it is to *bring again*—it is He whose voice says to His banished, to His outcasts, "Return, come," "Come again, ye children of men" (Ps. xc. 3).

And so our call is to see much more than the person, much more than the very incarnate Son of God. We are to come and behold the work which He came into the world to do, and to come and see that *He has done it* (Ps. xxii. 31; Isa. xliv. 23).

Done what? Done that which has burst the gates of hell, which has taken out of the way all that stood in the way of the sinner's return to the God of his salvation, taken away all the wrath and condemnation; done that which enables a righteous God, the God of recompenses, the God of truth, the God of judgment, to call to the poor wandering outcast and say, "Come"—"Come, for all things are now ready." "I have blotted out as a thick cloud thy transgressions, and as a cloud thy sins: return unto Me, for I have redeemed thee" (Isa. xliv. 22).

In connection with the subject we are considering, it is impossible too strongly to insist upon the reality of this personal return to a personal God—the true return of the individual soul "reconciled to God by the death of His Son"—the soul's return at the voice of the Saviour, who says, "Come unto Me"—the soul's true return to hear the word of the Father's loving and joyful welcome, "This My son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found." If we would have a Church fortified against the misuse of

ritual our eyes must be upon Him who says: "I will give them an heart to know Me, that I am the Lord: and they shall be My people, and I will be their God: for they shall return unto Me with their whole heart" (Jer. xxiv. 7).

2. And now we cannot wonder that this *coming*, this *coming of return*, this *coming to see*, should be followed by a "GO."

Mark what God expects to follow the revelation of His wondrous works, when men have been brought to see and know, and consider and understand together, "that the hand of the Lord hath done this, and the Holy One of Israel hath created it" (Isa. xli. 20). Mark how He speaks by His prophet: "Thou hast heard, See all this [see all His fore-ordained purpose of mercy and salvation fulfilled], and will ye not declare it?" (Isa. xlvi. 6).¹ It is a word which may well remind us of the narrative we have in the seventh chapter of the second Book of Kings. We cannot fail to remember the words of the lepers, "We do not well: this day is a day of good tidings, and we hold our peace" (ver. 9). Those men were beholding the wondrous deliverance which the Lord had wrought, and enjoying its results, and keeping the good news to themselves when it concerned multitudes. They were *seeing all this* and not *declaring* it. The very voice of conscience within them told them that in this they were doing not well. Can it be well for us to *come, return, and see all this, and not declare it?* Hearken to the words for God's delivered captives: "Go ye forth of Babylon, flee ye from the Chaldeans, with a voice of singing *declare* ye, *tell* this, *utter* it, even to the end of the earth; say ye, The Lord hath redeemed His servant Jacob" (Isa. xlvi. 20). Mark how continually the view of the wondrous work of God's redeeming love is followed by an outburst of praise, which is to make all creation vocal with adoration: "Sing, O ye heavens, for the Lord hath done it: shout, ye lower

¹ Compare Isa. lxvi. 18, 19: "They shall *come, and see* My glory. . . . And I will *send* . . . and they shall *declare* My glory among the Gentiles." Compare also Isa. xii. 4 and xlvi. 10, 12.

parts of the earth : break forth into singing, ye mountains, O forest, and every tree therein : for the Lord hath redeemed Jacob, and glorified Himself in Israel " (Isa. xliv. 23). Shall we wonder, then, that for us there is a word " *GO* " ? " How shall they preach, except they be sent ? As it is written : How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the Gospel of Peace, that bring glad tidings of good things " (Rom. xi. 15), of him " that publisheth salvation " (Isa. lii. 7). Shall we marvel that those who have *come, returned, and seen* should be called to hear and obey the risen Saviour's word : " Go ye into all the world, and preach the good tidings to every creature " ?

And shall we wonder that, in view of this grand commission for a lost world of perishing, outcast sinners, regulations of ritual sink into comparative insignificance ? Never let it be said or thought that this " *GO* " has little or nothing to do with our subject. I once was at a missionary meeting (it was, perhaps, nearly fifty years ago), where an eloquent advocate of the cause, in his desire to secure increased support for the work, pressed strongly on his audience the *cost* of Christian missions when rightly conducted. He expressed himself (as nearly as I can remember) after this sort : " Our work must not be supposed to be merely like delivering a message. A tinker on a tub," he said, " can do that.¹ Our great end must ever be in planting a Church in

¹ With this may be compared the argument of an essay entitled " The Missionary Aspect of Ritualism," which appeared in *The Church and the World*, published in 1866. In this it was stated to be " an axiom in liturgiology that no public worship is really deserving its name unless it be histrionic " (p. 37, third edition). Claiming " that ritualism is the natural complement of a written liturgy," Dr. Littledale urged that " the dramatic aspect of Common Prayer be manifested " (p. 42), and maintained that " in the case of all missions . . . the successful ones have invariably used the aid of ceremonial observances " (p. 42). Among other examples adduced, attention is directed to the history of the conversion of Pomerania, where the first missionary made his attempt " merely as a preacher, and that, too, in the garb of a mendicant, without any ritualism to back his efforts." The result (we are told) was that " his poverty was derided and

heathen lands to teach the natives to worship God; and by costly ceremonial and gorgeous ritual we must teach them that God's worship is a thing of grandeur and glory. For this we must show magnificence in our churches, artistic display in our services, and that which is imposing in all our arrangements. And all this is a very different thing from supplying a tub for the tinker. All this means what is really costly and expensive, and we should be willing to show that we accept all this as that which we know will not be to us as that which costs us nothing."

his sermons unheeded." He was followed by S. Otto, of Bamberg, who "entered Pomerania with a gorgeous retinue of priests and soldiers, and preached his first sermon to the assembled multitudes, not in the garb of a beggar, but in the splendid vestments of his episcopal rank," and so "triumphed over his enemies" (p. 47).

The writer adds: "It is needless to dwell on the pitiful history of respectable Anglican missions to the heathen. . . . In every case a purely subjective religion, fatally weighted with the most anti-missionary and anti-Christian of dogmas—the Lutheran doctrine of justification—has been offered to men who needed to be taught by externals to rise gradually into the conception of spiritual life; and with rejection of these externals came too often practical disbelief in the verities they are meant to typify" (p. 49).

A notable and instructive example of the method recommended—fighting the enemies "with their own weapons," with "much pomp" and "ceremonial observance" (p. 47)—may be seen in Canon Jenkins' work "The Jesuits in China." See especially pp. 20, 22, 27, 32, 52, 71, 85.

But specially should be compared the following words of a Jesuit missionary to the American Indians: "I now took in hand the dancers, and taught them all such dances as occur in comedies. It is of the greatest importance to attract unbelievers in this way with things of this nature, and by the splendid ceremonies of the Church to create an internal inclination in favour of the Christian religion, on which account small booths are beautifully decorated on all festival days after vespers, and before High Mass dances are conducted in the Church where all are assembled" (Father Charlevoix, as quoted in Griesinger's "History of Jesuits," E.T., third edition, p. 143).

The reader may also be referred to the democratic Griesinger's "History," Book II., chap. i., especially pp. 90, 91, 94, 103, 112.

See also Nicolini's "History of the Jesuits," pp. 110-112, 115, 116, 121, 131.

Let it be well understood that (except in the matter of the tinker and the tub) what has been here set down makes no pretension to be anything like a verbatim report of the argument of a highly respected speaker. It is quite possible that it may present a somewhat exaggerated representation of the substance of a very able and eloquent address. Let it be said also that there is no intention of denying that there may, perhaps, have been somewhat of truth to be learned from the speaker's criticisms of what he regarded, no doubt, as some mistaken missionary methods. "Fas est et ab hoste doceri." And here the critic's purpose, we may be sure, was not hostile.

Nevertheless, I have often remembered that meeting and that speech. And as often as I have recalled it to mind, a question has always suggested itself which refuses to be suppressed. It is the question which I ask the reader to submit to the judgment of Christian common-sense. The question is this: Is it possible to conceive the Apostle Paul making such a speech as that? Would any one of the Apostles who had received their Lord's commission to "go" have used such an argument? Can you believe that any one of those who had been sent to "declare" the glad tidings of redemption could have made such an appeal to such a motive?

In view of the Divine miracle of grace which they had to proclaim—in view of what they knew by experience of the message of the Gospel of Peace—even its ability in all its simplicity to prove itself the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth—in view of this, can anyone be persuaded to believe that the Apostles of Christ would have asked for the outflow of wealth to make a magnificent display among the heathen of the ritual and ceremonial of the worship of Christians?

St. Paul had occasion, incidentally, in writing to the Corinthians, to speak in the same breath of the claims of God's ministers both in the old dispensation and in the new. His argument would naturally have led him to set forth their offices in their closest possible resemblance. But he

must needs describe them by their prominent features. There is much which Christian common-sense may learn, and can hardly fail to learn, from his words: "Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things live of the things of the temple? And they which wait at the altar are partakers with the altar. Even so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel" (1 Cor. ix. 13, 14). The priests of the law are set before us as doing their work, as those who are set by God's command, to stand in holy vestments in the courts of the Temple, offering their daily sacrifices to God. They are as men who have heard the word "STAND": "Stand daily ministering and offering continually the same sacrifices which can never take away sins" (Heb. x. 11). It was to these sacrifices that belonged the rites and ceremonies of Temple-worship. And what is the nearest approach to this command when we turn to the Apostle's view of the ministers of the New Covenant? They are as men who have heard the word "GO." Their prominent work is set before us simply in the words "they that preach the Gospel." It is the Gospel which tells of the Lord who by one offering hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified. Is there no testimony here to the supreme importance for us of the truth of the Gospel, of the comparative unimportance of ritual in the Christian Church? What a contrast between the voice which would say, "Christ has died; therefore let us offer to God the Sacrifice of His Son, and adorn the sacrifice with costly and gorgeous ceremonial," and the voice which would say, "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law. Oh that men would therefore praise the Lord for His goodness, and declare the wonders that He doeth for the children of men"!

Again, we remember how the same Apostle declares, "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel." We may be sure there is no dishonouring of baptism in this word. God forbid that we should think it! The Apostle does not fail to recognize the sacred relation of this Sacra-

ment to the word which had to be "declared." He never forgets its true position as the covenant seal of the grace of the Gospel, of the free justification which we have in the blood of Christ. He tells us himself how he had himself heard and obeyed the word—"Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord" (Acts xxii. 16). Nevertheless, Christian common-sense cannot fail to see that there is here a placing of this holy Sacrament in a position of a certain subordination (in some sense) to the word of "declaring," to the grand commission "GO." And if even this sacred ordinance, which by Christ's own command is to accompany the *going* and the *preaching*—if even this is seen to be subordinate and subservient to the Gospel of salvation, to the glorious "declaring," shall we hesitate to acknowledge the comparative unimportance of ritual observances which were never commanded at all?

In view of these inspired words, let us turn back for a moment and ask again—Can we conceive such a missionary speech as that which I once heard coming from the heart or from the lips of an Apostle of Christ? I am content to leave the answer to be given by the verdict of Christian common-sense.

Let England and England's Church awake to hear the voice which says "*come*" and "*go*." Let us *come* to behold the wonders of redeeming love, to know the blessings which come of the truth and the power of the Gospel of Christ. And then let us *go* to proclaim the glad news of an opened heaven, of the Saviour's finished work, and of His call to the lost to "return—*come*."

That "*go*" has something in it for us all. It has a meaning for those who are called to stay. The mission-work of our Church should be *our* work. We should account it *our own*. We should think of it as *our own*. We should make it *our own*. We should support it as *our own*. We should work for it as *our own*. And, above all, we should continually pray for it as *our own*.

Would that it could be said of the Church of England as it

is said of the "Unitas Fratrum," the Moravian Brotherhood: "The whole Church is one missionary society. The converts abroad outnumber the home Church by three to one, and one conviction pervades the whole, that 'to be a Christian and to carry on foreign missions are inseparable things.'" Surely, the Saviour's word cannot mean nothing for those who know His voice. Let there be an obedient listening to the Word which says "go."

And in our obedience to that "go," let there be more of onward movement, less, possibly, of what is stationary and pastoral, even in our mission-fields. Might not our very mission-work, perhaps, be rather more suggestive of the speed of urgency, of the urgency of that which, in the supreme importance of its tidings, requireth haste? Never forgetting the need of episcopal (not prelatical) supervision, might not more responsibility be given sometimes to a native pastorate? Nay, might not the hearts of the new-born natives who have truly *come to see* be more often moved with longing, and encouraged in the desire to *declare and go*?¹

¹ Since writing the above I have met with the following extract from a sermon of Canon Hoare's preached before the Church Missionary Society in 1871: "Let the convert churches be aroused to a sense of their responsibility. Let them all become centres from which truth may radiate; let them . . . be sending forth their native evangelists to penetrate where the European never reaches . . . and no one can calculate to what an extent or with what rapidity the great work may be extended, if only God accompany it with His blessing" (Stock's "Hist. of C.M.S.," vol. ii., pp. 387, 388).

Mrs. J. F. Bishop testifies concerning Chinese Christians: "A large number of these converts are earnest and successful propagandists, and the very large increase in the number of Christians during the last five years is mainly owing to the zeal, earnestness, and devotion of Christian converts" ("Yangtze Valley and Beyond," p. 521). She mentions that in Che-kiang the number of converts through the work of Chinese is estimated at 80 per cent. of the whole. And she expresses the opinion that "if China is to be Christianized, or even largely leavened by Christianity, it must inevitably be by native agency under foreign instruction and guidance" (*ibid.*), adding (p. 522): "It is in the earnest enthusiasm of the Chinese converts for the propagation of the faith that the great hope for China lies."

Whether this be so or not, let us see in that "go" an urgency ever pointing to regions beyond; and then, while there will be no failure of real care that all things should be done decently and in order, there will be seen the comparative unimportance of what belongs to outward ceremonial in our worship; then the true use and the misuse of ritual will hardly need to be insisted on, then our dangers from sacerdotal ceremonialism will cease to trouble, and our deluding ritualism will die of atrophy.

CHAPTER V.

WHAT has the claim of Christian missions to do with a discussion concerning Christian ritual? What connection is there between the consideration of the use or misuse of ceremonial and the call of the Christian Church to evangelize the world? Might it not be better to keep the two distinct subjects quite separate?

These questions may seem to demand some further and some special attention.

Let me make bold to answer such inquiries (suggested, perhaps, in the last chapter) by saying: The two subjects are not so distinct as at first sight they may seem to be. And let me endeavour to make good my assertion by throwing some light upon the intimate relation one to another of these two things. Let me make bold to express a deep persuasion that to see this relation more clearly we need a higher and truer view of Christian religion. When the eyes of our understanding are enlightened to behold the real "wondrous things" of God's revelation, ceremonial rites will be seen in their true place, and the obedience to the word, "Preach the Gospel to every creature," will be seen in its true position of honour and glory. And nothing will more help us in our desire to estimate aright the use and misuse of ritual than to raise our eyes in contemplation of the grand world-wide commission of glad tidings given by the Risen Saviour to His Church on earth. Let us look at this matter again and again.

The consideration of the two subjects, ritual and missions, may very well be connected by a word which may be said in a very true sense to make an end to the one and a beginning for the other. Ritual service, regarded as of "the substance of religion," reaches its goal in the word, "It is finished." And that finished work of the Saviour opens the way for, and, apprehended by faith, is the inspiring motive power of, the evangelization of the earth.

In turning from Jewish shadows of legal ceremonial to view by faith the one perfect oblation once offered on the cross, we pass at once from the valley of darkness into the glorious light—the light of the knowledge of the glory of God—and hear the joyful word, "Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee"; but we are conscious also, or *should be* conscious, that we have thus crossed a very real boundary-line of separation, and have left on the other side the religion of ritual, and are never again to go back to be in the bondage of anything like the ceremonial service of the Temple, still less to find delight in anything like the idolatrous pomps of the heathen.

Let me ask attention to a few weighty words from an esteemed Archbishop of the Australian Church:—

"We have an altar in the Cross of Christ. And as we contemplate it by faith we see our great High Priest bringing the appointed victim, offering the expiatory sacrifice, removing the guilt of sin from the congregation of God, and purifying unto Himself by the blood of the New Covenant a pardoned people, zealous of good works. We have a sacrificial altar. Let Jewish ceremonial give place; let Gentile superstition be abandoned! Our altar is now the only one needed, and the Sacrifice offered on it is unique in its nature, transcendent in its work, and of eternal efficacy for every worshipper among men" (Archbishop Saumarez Smith in "The Church and her Doctrine," p. 36).

Hear, again, a few additional words from the same faithful witness—words bearing more distinctly on the connection of this truth with the use and misuse of ritual, as

well as with the legal spirit, which leads to ritual superstition:—

“ The practical value of the belief in Christ’s finished work of expiation is great. It has an important bearing upon worship, upon work. . . .

“ *Upon Worship*.—Those who believe that Christ’s one sacrifice cannot be either rivalled or repeated—who rightly appreciate the oblation as *unique*, both as regards time and as regards adequacy—will never add superstitious accretions of their own to mar the simplicity of the *cultus* which Christ has appointed, and will never lose confidence as to their access unto God.

“ *Upon Work*.—Saved from superstitious additions to worship, those who hold the doctrine of the one oblation of Christ are also saved from ‘legalism.’ They are well assured that no meritorious labours or penances are required by God as atonement for sin. They do not work *for* salvation, but *from* salvation. They ‘work out’ the salvation already given with a trembling sense of responsibility and awe, indeed, because it is God who works in them; but yet also with joyous confidence, as ‘made full’ in Christ, and knowing that they have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of their trespasses, according to the riches of God’s grace” (*ibid.*, pp. 39, 40).

Let it be well observed that that word “ It is finished ” not only makes an end of shadows, because the Truth is come, but tells of the grand accomplishment of a work, the typical shadows of which belonged to the main “ substance ” of the old ceremonial dispensation. Offerings for sin are to be no more, because those legal offerings were instructive types of a Divine work to be wrought for man’s redemption—a work of the complete and perfect accomplishment of which it is now true that “ It is finished.” Here it is not merely an end of the types, but the real end of the work typified. The end is attained. The Son of God on the cross has “ DONE IT.”¹

¹ Ps. xxii. 31. See Kay’s note there, and *cf.* Isa. xxxviii. 15, Heb. and Isa. xliv. 23, 24.

Christ is now the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth. "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us." The redeeming work IS DONE. "It is finished." The gates of hell are burst; the gates of heaven must open. The way is clear. The veil is rent. Outcast sinners under the law may turn and see every barrier put aside. There is open access for them (*παρρησία*) even into the holiest by the blood of Jesus. There is nothing required of them, nothing expected of them, but that they should submit, as condemned sinners, to be justified freely—(*δωρεάν*) for nothing—by the grace of God through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus (Rom. iii. 24). What a marvellous Gospel of glad tidings is this! Truly a Divine miracle of mercy, such as it never could have entered into the heart of man to conceive! But God hath revealed it unto us by His Spirit. And it is a Gospel for all the world. The middle wall of partition is no more. Jew and Gentile are to be "all one" in Christ Jesus. There is to be no more separation. There is an end of all shutting out. Of that, too, it may be said, "It is finished." The open door is open wide for all the lost sons and daughters of Adam. The invitation is for *the world*. The call is to all.

In the twenty-second Psalm let us see not only the unknown sufferings of Him who, though He was rich, for our sakes became poor, that we through His poverty might be rich, but also the foretelling of the joy that was set before Him when He endured the cross and despised the shame. We shall not fail to see the connection of the one offering, by which all ritual offerings are abolished, with the world's evangelization, when our hearts are attuned by God's Spirit to join in the song of the Church's hope: "All the ends of the earth shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before Thee. . . . They shall come and shall declare His righteousness, unto a people that shall be born, that He hath DONE IT" (Ps. xxii. 27, 31).

But let us see the same view of the call to evangelize the

earth in the great prophecy of Isaiah which testifies of the one perfect Sacrifice which makes an end of all oblation for sins and all the ritual service of the Temple: "When Thou shalt make His soul an offering for sin, He shall see His seed, He shall prolong His days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in His hand. He shall see of the travail of His soul, and shall be satisfied. By His knowledge shall My righteous servant justify many, for He shall bear their iniquities" (Isa. liii. 10, 11).

The exceeding riches of God's grace (Eph. ii. 7 and i. 7), the riches of His glory (Eph. iii. 16; cf. i. 18)—are they not revealed to us in the redemption which we have in the blood of Christ, even the forgiveness of our sins (Eph. i. 7) ?

Shall we wonder that, in view of these *riches*, we should be shown the folly of turning again to a religion of ceremonial ritual—to the weak and *beggarly* elements ($\pi\tau\omega\chi\alpha\ \sigma\tau\omega\chi\epsilon\alpha$, Gal. iv. 9), to which some would desire again to be in bondage? And, in the same view, shall we wonder at the Apostle's word of joyful exclamation: "Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ" (Eph. iii. 8) ?

The Rock of Ages is smitten—"wounded for our transgressions"—and from the smitten Rock the rivers of living waters flow. Shall we wonder that the "poor and needy," who have been seeking water and found none (Isa. xli. 17), should now turn away from the broken cisterns of "carnal ordinances" (Heb. ix. 10; cf. Eph. ii. 15, Col. ii. 14, 20), and not only drink themselves of the water of life, but should join in crying out for joy of heart to those afar off: "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters" (Isa. lv. 1).

Shall we wonder, then, that that word "It is finished" makes a wonderful change in the "substance" of our religion. Surely old things have passed away. All things are become new.

Surely we need not wonder that to preach the Gospel is

now indeed of the “substance” of our religion, and that the bondage of ceremonial and the attractions of ritual are of its substance no more.

We may well be asked to pause for a moment while we desire to contemplate this change, and mark well what it has to tell us about the matters we are now considering.

It is needful for us to keep clearly before our minds what we mean by the “substance” of religion, as distinguished from suitable (or unsuitable) accompaniments of religious service. We must also not fail to bear in mind that, in speaking of the Old Covenant or the Covenant of the Law as considered “by itself,” we are speaking of that which, in historical fact, never did stand “by itself.” The promise of the good things to come had gone before. It told of a covenant older than “the Old.” The Law was a schoolmaster ($\piαιδαγωγός$) to prepare men’s hearts to lay hold on the promises of the Messiah given to the patriarchs—promises older than the foundation of the world. And these promises were unfolding before the faith of the pious Israelites while they were living under the Law. Still, we have now to *think* of the Old Covenant, and to *speak* of the Law as considered *apart from* and *distinct from* the glorious hope of the future.

And now, fixing our eyes on the *before* and the *after* of that word “It is finished,” and looking to see clearly the “substance” of the religion which belonged to the “before,” viewed as “by itself,” and then to contemplate also the “substance” of the religion which follows “after,” we come to this conclusion:—

BEFORE, in the religion of which ceremonial was the substance, there was no place for the Evangel, there was no Gospel of glad tidings for the world.

AFTER (that is, now), in the religion of which the Evangel is of the substance, there is no place (in the substance) for the religion of ritual, no room for that which belonged to things which are abolished, no place for that which pertained to the offering for sins, or formed part of the system of sacerdotal oblations.

Will any say, "The last proposition is *not proven*. Ritual may very well remain when sacrificial and propitiatory service of priesthood on earth is no more"? It may be answered: Surely the contradictory is untenable, in view of the fact that the sacerdotal service of ceremonial was so constantly connected (directly or indirectly) with the sacrificial service of the *sanctuary*, which can have no place in the *after* which follows "It is finished." It is not simply "ritual," but the "religion of ritual" (or perhaps more accurately the "ritual of religion"), which we are to regard as excluded.

Ritual there may be, and helpful religious ritual, which yet is properly no part of the "ritual of religion," and has no fellowship with the "religion of ritual."

There may seem, no doubt, to be a strange paradox in this saying. But a further examination, with more careful consideration, will discover a very important truth underlying this paradoxical statement.

Religious acts and helps to devotion do not cease to be *religious* when they are seen to be separate from the "substance" of religion.¹

But let us take at the same time into view the fact already insisted on, that there is no word of injunction concerning ritual in the writings of the New Testament from one end to the other; and I can hardly conceive that any will be found to maintain that ritual can rightly be included in the "substance" of the religion of the Gospel.

No doubt an attempt may be made to break through the force of such an argument by alleging that St. Paul does in one passage distinctly claim for himself to be exercising the office of a sacrificial *sacerdotium* in carrying out his commission as a minister of the New Testament. He speaks of the grace given to him of God that he should be a minister (*λειτουργὸν*) of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, doing the work of a sacrificing priest in the matter of the Gospel of God (*ἱερουργοῦντα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Θεοῦ*—Rom. xv. 16).²

¹ See "Light from History on Christian Ritual," pp. 53, 88.

² Deylingius ("Observ. Sacr.," Pars IV., Exerc. II., § xx., p. 144) says of the distinction between *ἱερουργοῦντα* and *ἱερεύεοντα*: "Hoc utriusque

It may be asked—Does not this language tell us of a continuation on earth in the New Testament of the *sacerdotium* belonging to the Old Testament, only of a higher order, and on a higher level than that of the Sons of Aaron? And will not such a higher *sacerdotium* necessarily, or naturally, carry with it a corresponding service of higher ritual? And must not this ritual service properly belong to the “religion of ritual”?

These questions may seem, at first sight, to carry with them the weight of a serious argument.

But, in truth, I believe it is scarcely possible to find a text or to conceive of a saying which could more forcibly establish the truth that the ritual of sacerdotal service is *not*, and that the evangelization of the world *is*, of the substance of Christ’s religion, than this very word of the Apostle St. Paul.

Let us ask—What is the *προσφορὰ*, the hostia, the oblation, which is to be offered up to God in the exercise of this evangelical *sacerdotium*, this “ministering in sacrifice,” with which the Apostle regards himself as entrusted? And for answer let us read the few words which immediately follow.

The Apostle adds “that the offering up of the Gentiles

verbi discrimen auctores Græci ignorant, nec ullo exemplo dissentiens potuit probare.”

It can hardly be maintained that *ἱερουργεῖν* is derived from the word *ἱερεύς*. But neither can it be questioned that the sacrificial functions of a priest are here in the Apostle’s view.

It may be observed that in Ps. cxvi. 17, where the LXX have *θέσω* *θυσίαν αἰνέσσεις*, Basil the Great has the rendering *ἱερουργήσω σοι τὴν τῆς αἰνέσσεως θυσίαν* (Hom. in Ps. cxv., § 5, Op., tom. i., p. 375; Paris, 1721).

“*ἱερουργοῦντα* is rendered “sacrificans” by Rufinus, “consecrans” by Augustine, “sanctificans” by the Vulgate. The Douay version is “sanctifying the Gospel of God.” Canon Liddon says: “For this use of *ἱερουργεῖν*, see Joseph., ‘Ant.’ VI., vi., 2” (“Analysis of Ep. to Romans,” p. 284).

As to the construction, Professor Abbott cites 4 Macc. vii. 8 (*τοὺς ἱερουργοῦντας τὸν νόμον ἰδίῳ αἴματι*) for a very near approach to St. Paul’s expression. He adds: “In both cases the figure is explained by the connected words” (“Do this in Remembrance of Me,” p. 53).

(ἡ προσφορὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν) might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost."

What sort of an oblation is this? Not, certainly, one with which the Levitical priesthood ever had anything to do. The offering of human sacrifices was an abomination belonging to the worship of Moloch. It was to be thought of as lying in the same level of impiety with cutting off a dog's neck, or offering swine's blood (see Isa. lxvi. 3). And the idea of offering the *Gentiles* for an acceptable service—how could it be? They might not come nearer than the court of the Gentiles; but to think of their entering into the holy Temple of God, and being made an acceptable oblation! What Jew would not cry out against the man that should aim at such a profanation, "It is not fit that he should live"? (Acts xxii. 22).

But enough. It is needless to refute a contention which none, I suppose, will ever maintain. Surely it is obvious that the Apostle is using the language of metaphor—of metaphor which had already been found in the Word of the Lord as spoken by Isaiah the prophet; the Word which had told His people how their brethren should hereafter be brought for an offering unto Jehovah, "as the children of Israel bring an offering in a clean vessel into the house of the Lord" (Isa. lxvi. 20).¹

¹ Ludovicus de Dieu says: "Hesych. 'Ιερουργεῖ, sacrificat, sacra operatur. Hinc verto, *Operans Sacra Evangelii Dei*. Ut enim lex olim ceremonialis, sic et Evangelium sua habet sacra; quique Evangelio servat, homines vivas Deo sistit victimas" (quoted from "Poli Synopsis," tom. v., c. 313).

"Nihil certius est quam Paulum hic ad sacra mysteria alludere, quæ a sacerdote peraguntur. Facit ergo se Antistitem vel sacerdotem in Evangelii ministerio, qui populum quem Deo acquirit, in sacrificium offerat. . . . Quod postea corredit Erasmus, *Sacrificans Evangelium*, non modo improprium est, sed sensum quoque obscurat. Est enim Evangelium potius instar gladii quo homines Deo in victimas sacrificat minister" (Calvin, Op., tom. vii., p. 101; Amst., 1667).

"Because the Jews and Gentiles both boasted of their external Priesthood and sacrifices, the Apostle sheweth, that his ministry was far more excellent, being not occupied in sacrificing of beasts, but in offering up

The priestly sacrificial service which the Apostle has in view is clearly just that which leads human hearts, in view of the grace of the Gospel, to yield up themselves in willing self-oblation to the Lord; just that which he had in view when he wrote: "I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice (*θυσίαν ζῶσαν*), holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service" (*τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν*—Rom. xii. 1).

If this conclusion should be doubted, further evidence may easily be found in a careful reading of the verses which follow in the fifteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans.

But, indeed, if any are prepared to dispute this metaphorical sense of the Apostle's language, they must be prepared to meet an array of testimony from patristic interpretation, showing how the word was understood by Christians of old time. Thus, to take one example, Chrysostom says that St. Paul calls his own ministry a priestly service and sacrificing work. "This," he says, "is my *sacerdotium*, the

living men to be an holy sacrifice unto God by their obedience . . . *machæra mea Evangelium*, for the Gospel was as his knife, whereby he slayed and prepared this spiritual sacrifice to offer it unto God" (Willet, "Hexapla," p. 687; Cambridge, 1620). "This oblation of St. Paul and the other of Popish Priests is far unlike; he offereth up the Gentiles, but they presume to offer up Christ in sacrifice" (*ibid.*, p. 711).

"The end of this priestly office confided to the Apostle is to transform the world of the Gentiles into an *offering well pleasing to God*" (Godet, "Com. on Rom.," vol. ii., p. 369, E.T.).

"Serving the Gospel of God as a priest stands at the altar in the service of the tabernacle. The offering which the priest is thus to present is the Gentile Church" (Sanday in Ellicott's "Com. N.T.," vol. ii., p. 254).

"The Gentiles converted, and through the Spirit consecrated as God's property, are the offering which Paul, as the priest of Jesus Christ, has brought to God" (Meyer, "Com. on N.T.," vol. ii., p. 345, E.T.).

"While the Jewish priests clean the altar, kindle the fire, slay the victim, and then present it to God, the sole priestly office of the Apostle consists in proclaiming the Gospel, and the Gentiles are the oblation which follows" (Tholuck, "Expos. of Rom.," vol. ii., p. 352, E.T.).

proclaiming and preaching the Gospel. This is the sacrifice which I have to offer.”¹

And even Roman Catholic divines will be found, I believe, generally to follow in this matter the interpretation of the Fathers.²

¹ Αὗτη μοι φησὶ ἡ ἱερωσύνη, τὸ κηρύγγειον καὶ καταγγέλλειν. ταῦτην προσφέρω τὴν θυσίαν (Cramer, Cat., tom. iv., p. 505).

Origen says: “Quod nos habemus *sacrificans Evangelium Dei*, Græci magnificentius dicunt, *ἱερουργοῦντα τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Θεοῦ*, quod licet non plene a nobis, possit tamen dici *sacrificans Evangelium Dei*; per quod ostenditur sacrificale opus esse annunciare Evangelium. Idcirco denique subjungit: *Ut fiat oblatio gentium accepta*,” etc. (Op., tom. iv., p. 676. In Migne, c. 1268).

So Theodoret: ‘*ἱερουργίαν μὲν οὐδὲ ἐκάλεσε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. τὴν δὲ γυνησίαν πίστιν, ἐπρόσδεκτον προσφοράν* (Op., tom. iii., p. 151; Halæ, 1771).

So Cyril: *Τῆς ἱερουργίας δε τὸν τρόπον ἔξηγούμενος, “εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον” φησι, “Θεοῦ.” καίτοι Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν κηρύσσων καὶ εὐαγγελίζομενος* (in Cramer’s “Catena,” tom. iv., p. 506; Oxford, 1844).

So also Eusebius: ‘*ἱερουργῶν, φησι, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ, τουτέστι θυσίαν αὐτῷ ταῦτην θῶσ, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ. καὶ πῶς ἐστὶ θύειν καὶ ἱερουργεῖν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον; ἐκ τοῦ προσφέρειν αὐτῷ, φησι, τὰ δι’ αὐτοῦ πιστεύοντα ξθην* (“Com.,” tom. i., p. 402; Paris, 1631).

So Theophylact: *Eis τὸ εἶναι με λειτουργὸν καὶ ἱερέα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. . . . Μάχαιραν ἔχω τὸν λόγον, θυσία ἐστὲ ὑμεῖς* (“In Pauli Epist.,” p. 147; London, 1636).

So also from the West we have the testimony of Augustine: “*Hoc intelligitur, ut offerantur Gentes Deo, tanquam acceptabile sacrificium, cum in Christo credentes per Evangelium sanctificantur: sicut et superius dicit, Obsecro itaque vos, fratres, per misericordiam Dei, ut exhibeatis corpora vestra hostiam vivam, sanctam, Deo placentem*” (“Prop. ex Ep. ad Rom. Expos.,” § lxxxiii., Op., tom. iii., pars ii., c. 924; Paris, 1650).

² So Cajetan: “*Perinde ac dixisset, sacrificans Evangelium Dei. Itaque ad hoc se electum dicit ut sic evangelizet in gentibus ut evangelium vertat in Sacrificium. . . . Non enim est oblatio hæc rerum sed animarum. Et properea acceptabilitas ejus non ex quacunque sanctificatione, sed ex sanctificatione in Spiritu Sancto habitante in animabus pendet*” (“Epistolæ juxta sensum literalem enarratæ,” fol. 47; Paris, 1540).

Other Roman Catholic commentators take a similar view. Professor Abbott says: “They only add that the figurative priesthood, alone referred to here, does not disprove a literal priesthood” (“*Do this in Remembrance of Me*,” p. 53).

But I will add, in support of this view of the text, the very valuable exposition of a modern divine, to whom the Church of England is deeply indebted. "It is," says Dr. Moule, "a startling and splendid passage of metaphor. Here once, in all the range of his writings (unless we except the few and affecting words of Phil. ii. 17), the Apostle presents himself to his converts as a sacrificial ministrant, a 'priest' in the sense which usage (not etymology) has so long stamped on that English word as its more special sense. Never do the great founders of the Church, and never does He who is its Foundation, use the term *ἱερέως*, sacrificing, mediating priest, as a term to designate the Christian minister in any of his orders; never, if this passage is not to be reckoned in, with its *ἱεροπυγεῖν*, its 'priest work,' as we have ventured to translate the Greek. In the distinctively sacerdotal epistle,

Estius explains: "Administrans evangelium a Deo missum hominibus, eoque ministerio velut sacerdotio fungens."

Toletus, speaking of the "Oblatio Gentium transitive dictum pro oblatione quae sunt ipsae Gentes," adds: "Quae hic sunt sacrificium, Paulus autem sacerdos" (see "Poli Synopsis," tom. v., c. 313).

But specially noteworthy is the commentary of Natalis Alexander: "Evangelii Ministerio velut Sacerdotio fungens. Vel, *Consecrans Evangelium Dei*. Sermo metaphoricus est, et ad veteris Sacerdotii functiones alludit: *Ut fiat oblatio Gentium accepta*: ut Gentes ministerio prædicationis meæ ad Christum convertendæ ac Deo in sacrificium offerendæ, sint victima ipsi accepta" ("Com. Lit. et Mor.," tom. i., p. 103; Paris, 1768). In his "Sensus Moralis," which follows, he says of the "Prædicationis Evangelii Munus": "Functio sacra est et sacerdotalis" (p. 106).

Among mediæval writers may be cited T. Aquinas, who thus comments: "'Ut sim minister Christi Jesu in gentibus,' id est, ut serviam Christo in gentium conversione. . . . 'Ut fiat oblatio Gentium,' id est, gentes per meum ministerium conversæ, in quo quasi quoddam sacrificium et oblationem Deo obtuli" ("In Pauli Ep. Com.," tom. i., p. 230; Paris, 1870).

Of less note is the commentary printed in the works of Anselm (ed. 1612), but now commonly attributed to Hervaeus (by some to Anselm of Laon). Here we read: "Ut sim minister Christi in gentibus, id est, ut ministrem et serviam Christo, prædicans Illum gentibus. . . . Ut fiat oblatio gentium accepta, id est, ut omnes offerantur Domino tanquam acceptabile sacrificium cum in Christum credentes, per Evangelium sanctificantur" (fol. 48b, "Beati Anselmi Cant. Com.," 1533).

the Hebrews, the word *ἱερεὺς* comes indeed into the foreground. But there it is absorbed into THE LORD. It is appropriated altogether to Him in His self-sacrificing Work once done, and in His heavenly Work now always doing, the work of mediatorial impartation, from His throne, of the blessings which His great offering won. . . . Is this passage in any degree an exception? No; for it contains its own inner evidence of its metaphorical cast. The 'priest-working' here has regard, we find, not to a ritual, but to '*the Gospel*.' '*The oblation*' is—the Nations. The hallowing Element, shed as it were upon the Victims, is the Holy Ghost. Not in a material temple, and serving at no tangible altar, the Apostle brings his multitudinous *converts* as his holocaust to the Lord. The Spirit, at his preaching and on their believing, descends upon them; and they lay themselves 'a living sacrifice' where the fire of love shall consume them, to His glory" ("On Romans," pp. 410, 411).¹

And now what follows? Let us see clearly and mark well what follows. When this metaphorical sense of the Apostle's language is allowed, it is quite plain that the translation of his words into language from which metaphor is excluded

¹ Let it be well observed that among the *human* gifts (Eph. iii. 8, 11; see Kay "On Ps. lxviii. 18," p. 211) *received* by the ascended Saviour and *given* to men, are no *priests* (cf. especially Num. xviii. 6, a comparison which makes this omission all the more striking). This is utterly inexplicable on the theory of Christ's intending that the sacrifice of Himself should be perpetually offered on earth by a human *sacerdotium*. I quote again some weighty words from Bishop Moule: "The Pentecostal gift was, above all things, a gift *for witness*. . . . Such to the end is the Christian minister in his true idea. His *characteristic* function is profoundly different from that of the Aaronic priest. Distinctively (let me deliberately say it, with the New Testament open) it is not 'sacerdotal' at all. It is prophetic; it is the function of the Christ-given, Spirit-filled witness to the Lord and His Word, before the Church and before the world" ("Ephesian Studies," p. 199).

Compare St. Paul's word concerning his ministry, in view of his *finishing his course* with joy. He speaks of it—even of the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus—simply as "*to testify* the Gospel of the grace of God" (Acts xx. 24).

yields a sense which can give no sort of support to the contention that ritual must be of the substance of Christian religion. The Apostle has no sacerdotal function, but the use of that Word of God which is quick and powerful and sharper (*τομώτερος*) than any two-edged sacrificial knife¹ (*μάχαιρα*), piercing to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit (even as of the joints and marrow of the priestly sacrifice), "discerning the thoughts and intents of the heart" (Heb. iv. 12).

And, then, it will surely be seen also that the Apostolic word actually excludes (or certainly seems to exclude) all ritual of sacerdotal service from the substance of New Testament religion, and sets in its place—the place of honour in the Christian dispensation—the preaching of the Cross of Christ, the sacred work of Christian missions.

Is it not so? Take a parallel case. When the Apostle bids us put on the armour of God, and sets before us the helmet of salvation, does he not exclude the idea of a helmet of brass?² When he bids us (in the language of metaphor) take the sword of the Spirit, does not his word exclude from our spiritual weapons a sword of steel? Does not his view of the Christian in the panoply of God assure us that the weapons of our warfare are not carnal?

And must not, then, St. Paul's claim of rendering such a Christian sacerdotal service as he here describes exclude the idea of any sacrificial function but that which is spiritual—that which has to do with the Gospel of Christ and the bringing of souls home, with their sacrifices of praise, into the true Temple of God, to be builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit.

¹ See "The Sacerdotium of Christ," pp. 142, 143.

² It may, perhaps, be urged that God's people of old had been taught to look to God Himself as their shield and their sword (Deut. xxxiii. 29), while yet they used without rebuke weapons of human manufacture. But to this it is sufficient reply that (apart from all question of the use of human means) FAITH—the faith of the "people saved by the Lord"—was taught by that word to put off the armour of Saul, and to take only the Lord as the shield of its help, and the sword of its excellency (see e.g. Ps. xxxiii. 20, xliv. 6, lix. 11, lxxxiv. 8; Hosea i. 7).

At all events, I venture to submit for consideration whether it is not at least the most natural and obvious, if not the necessary inference, from the words of the Apostle, that he knows in the Christian Church on earth no priestly service at all, and no priesthood whatever, save that which has to do with "the sword of the Spirit" and the preaching of the Gospel of Christ.

If to lift on high the truth of the *sacerdotium* of Christ, and to proclaim His one oblation finished on the cross—if this is to do the work of a priest, then indeed must we claim a true priesthood for the ambassadors of Christ in the world. But if this, which is the *sacerdotium* pertaining to the ministers of the New Covenant, can only by metaphor be spoken of as a priesthood at all, then, when metaphor is put away, we must see the place of *sacerdotium* a void place in the Church below, but only void because its true place is now at the right hand of God, where the One Priest of the Christian Church ever liveth to make intercession for us.

Are we then to despise all ritual aids to devotion—to refuse all material helps to the spiritual worship which belongs to the New Covenant? Are we to think that Christian tongues must be dumb, and have no joyful songs to sing to our stringed instruments, because our Priest now is on the Throne of His glory.

We should be slow indeed to come to such an impotent conclusion. Is it not written: "By Him, therefore, let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to His Name"? (Heb. xiii. 15).

We must always, indeed, remember that all our service is "without the camp" ($\xi\epsilon\omega\tau\eta\varsigma\pi\alpha\epsilon\mu\beta\omega\lambda\eta\varsigma$). *There* we are to take our stand, "bearing His reproach" (Heb. xiii. 13). But *there* our spiritual service of faith and prayer (with alms and willing oblations), of thanksgiving and praise (with songs of rejoicing and the voice of melody), is always acceptable and well-pleasing unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord.

And it is *there*, and only *there* (in that place of *Ritual* out-

casting, though not of uncleanness—see Lev. iv. 12) that we learn to sing unto the Lord a *New* song, which is to be sung unto the Lord by “all the whole earth” (Ps. xcvi. 1).

But of this we shall have something more to say in a concluding chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

IN the previous chapter I endeavoured to show that Rom. xv. 16 (*ἱερουργοῦντα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*), when its metaphorical interpretation is allowed (which will hardly, I trust, now be disputed), not only fails to give support to the theory of a sacerdotal ministry of sacrificial service and ritual in the Church militant here on earth, but, rather, leaves no room for the admission of any such-like theory.

Is it, I ask, an undue straining of language if, with Tholuck (see above, p. 45), we draw the inference that the *sole* priestly office of the Apostle consists in proclaiming the truth of the Gospel of Christ?

I do not wish to overstate the case; I desire carefully to avoid making any such sweeping assertion as might seem to go beyond what is warranted by a fair and natural exposition of the language of the Apostle.

There were doubtless those of old time who rightly understood the metaphorical sense of the words here employed, and who, nevertheless, by an incautious use of words, were making way for erroneous views (or using language which was gradually leading to error) as regards the sacerdotal character of the Christian ministry. Alas! how much grievous error has too often been as the ripened fruit growing upon what has sometimes been called “a holy excess of language”—language which, as first used, may have come of thoughts innocent of any idea of false doctrine! The question is—Were the Fathers quite consistent in the language which they used? If the Fathers generally were right in understanding with Chrysostom that the Apostle meant to say of the preaching of the Gospel, “This is my

priesthood”¹ (Αὗτη γάρ μοι ἱερωσύνη), were they right in allowing the door to be left ajar for the insidious incoming of another and a very different idea of priesthood into the Church of Christ? Was it well that Christians should be led on by little and little till they might learn to say of that which *was* the Apostle’s *sacerdotium*, “This is *not* our *sacerdotium*”? or to think of the (so-called) priesthood of the Christian Church with thoughts which could hardly be harmonised with the Apostle’s language?

I submit the question to the candid consideration of those who would desire to know the truth. I will only express my own conviction that force must be applied to the Apostle’s words to bring them into anything like agreement with the idea of a *true* *ἱερωσύνη* as pertaining to the Christian ministry. It is not denied, indeed, that the language of Chrysostom² is more distinct than that of Origen and some others; but it can hardly be said, I think, to express more than is contained in the true sense of the original words of St. Paul.

I have dwelt on this point at some length because of its

¹ The Latin version given by Montfaucon is: “Hoc enim est mihi sacerdotium prædicare et annuciare. Hoc offero sacrificium.”

The Greek as quoted above (p. 46) is from Cramer’s “Catena” (*Supplementum e cod. Monacensi*), tom. iv., p. 505.

² The quotation from Chrysostom should be read in connection with what follows shortly after: *τῆς γὰρ ἱερουργίας μου ταῦτης τὰ σύμβολα, καὶ τῆς χειροτονίας ἔχω πολλὰ δεῖξαι τὰ τεκμήρια· οὐ ποδήρη, καὶ κώδωνας, καθάπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ, οὐδὲ μίτραν καὶ κιθαριν, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ φρικωδέστερα τοντων σημεῖα καὶ θαύματα* (“In Ep. ad Rom.” Hom. XXIX., § 2, Op., tom. ix., p. 731; edit. Montfaucon; Paris, 1731).

Ἐλδες πῶς ταῦτα τῶν παλαιῶν θαυμαστότερα καὶ φρικωδέστερα, ή θυσία, ή προσφορὰ, τὰ σύμβολα (*ibid.*, p. 732).

Παιδεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς δτι οὐκ ἀπὸ . . . ἐπὶ τὸ γράψαι ήλθεν, ἀλλ’ ἐς διακονίαν πληρῶν, ὡς ἱερουργίαν ἀπαρτίζων, ὡς τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν ἐρῶν (*ibid.*, p. 733).

Another writer, whose homily on Ps. xciv. has passed under the name of Chrysostom, referring to the text, says: “Εστι καὶ ἄλλη κανή θυσία ή διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ κηρύγματος πληρουμένη . . . δρᾶς δπως ἔδειξεν δτι καὶ τὸ κηρύγμα ἀντὶ θυσίας ἀναπέμπεται τῷ Θεῷ. This quotation is part of his exposition of the varieties of oblations, forming a sort of commentary on Mal. i. ii. See Chrysostomi, Op., tom. v., p. 631; edit. Montfaucon; Paris, 1724.

great importance. I ask to have this saying of the Apostle carefully considered in view of its far-reaching significance. It is hardly to be wondered at if an attempt has been made in our days to reject the metaphorical sense of St. Paul's language, in spite of such a remarkable consensus of interpretation from the West as well as from the East, from the later as well as from the earlier ages of the Christian Church. I say, it is hardly to be wondered at if, in spite of all, a most unnatural sense has been fastened on the inspired words, as if to show that we have here a refutation of the statement that Christian ministers are never designated as *ἱερεῖς* in the New Testament; for, unless the metaphorical interpretation be rejected, we have here (as it seems to me) no mere absence of a sacerdotal claim: rather we have here that which can never (or hardly) be reconciled with a claim of any sacerdotal function, or any sacrificial ritual, or any priestly standing whatever for the ministers of Christ in the Christian Church.

If we ask to be shown the Altar Service of the Priests of the New Covenant, we must direct our eyes to the work of Christian missions; we must look at the preaching of the Gospel, and mark the effect of the Word of God on the hearts of men.

And if this be so, can we fail now to see very clearly the relation one to another of these two things—sacerdotal ritual and Christian missions? The one, the ritual of the Old Covenant, the ritual of religious ceremonial, the ritual which had a chief place in the *substance* of religion, goes out, that the other, the work of Christian missions, may come in. The one word, "It is finished," makes an end of the one, and calls for the service of the other, and that other comes in because the first has gone out; or, much rather, the first is dismissed because the other has come in.

And if this is so, have we not evidence in that *going out* and *coming in*—evidence as clear and convincing as we can desire—that ritual is not, and the evangelization of the world is, of the very "*substance*" of the religion of Christ?

And, further, that word "It is finished," viewed in connection with this *going out* and *coming in*, must be seen as having to bear a very important testimony in the matter of the true use and the misuse of ritual in the Christian Church.

He who said "It is finished" has broken every barrier down, and now heaven and earth are brought together in the glory of the Gospel. And in the light of that Gospel there can be no admission for anything which aims at doing what Christ has done—no room for that which would pretend to bring heaven to earth. It is true, indeed, that a real coming of heaven to earth must precede the raising of earth to heaven. But we must beware of allowing anything like an artificial or ritual calling down of heaven to earth in the conception of human fancy—assisted by the significance of ceremonial service—to take the place of the true spiritual lifting up of hearts from earth to heaven in the realities of Christian faith.

I cannot doubt that the Cross of Christ has much to teach us concerning our *high* thoughts of ritual and our *low* thoughts about the preaching of Christ's Gospel in the world. Under the teaching of the Spirit, the Cross can bring down what is *high* and exalt what is *low*. We have heard the word of the Saviour, spoken in view of the death that He should die: "Now is the judgment of this world, now shall the prince of this world be cast out. And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me" (John xii. 31, 32). What a witness is here to the glory of the stupendous victory which gives deliverance to the captives of Satan! That Divine attraction of the Cross, we may be sure, has nothing in common with the attractions of ritual. God forbid that we should think that it can be assisted by the attractive power of anything like the pagan pomp and ceremonial of sacerdotal and sacrificial service.

It is a word true, I believe, of the delights of ritual, which draw so many—the word which was spoken concerning other attractions of the world: "We who love our Lord, and we whose affections are set on the things that are in heaven,

voluntarily and gladly lay aside the things that charm and ravish the world, that, for our part, our hearts may be ravished with the things of heaven, and that our whole being may be poured forth in constant and unreserved devotion in the service of the Lord who died to save us.”¹

Let me be allowed for a moment again to dwell upon that wondrous word of the Son of God, “It is finished.” Let me ask the reader to pause and contemplate it with desire to view it—in the revelation of the Spirit—so as to see in it something more of the fulness of its meaning—something more of the Divine miracle which it attests—something more of the riches of grace and glory which it contains—something more of the redeeming deliverance, with the assurance of which it should move Christian hearts to rejoice and sing.

Can I be very far wrong in saying that the more we view that word in the Divine light, the more clearly we shall see that the work of Christian missions *must be* of the substance of our religion, and the ceremonial of Christian ritual can hardly be more than a slave in its service? As we look, shall we not see more of the exaltation of the one and much more of the low estate of the other? As we look yet again and again, surely we shall see the one growing in greatness, in magnificence, in glory, and the other diminishing, and falling low, and waning in insignificance. As English Churchmen, we have no need to be ashamed of the testimony of a faithful witness concerning us. “We,” says Bishop Hall, “hold preaching an essential part of God’s service; ceremonies none at all” (“Apol. against Brownists,” § 47).

May we for a moment dare to compare things so little with A THING so great? Who did not know the joy of hearing and the joy of telling of the relief of Ladysmith? Who would not have thought it a ridiculous impertinence to have been making anxious inquiries that day as to the care which the soldiers bestowed on their uniforms when they

¹ Dr. Horton in “Students and the Missionary Problem,” p. 184.

shouted the great shout which told of their victory? The cases, I confess, are not parallel, but the comparison may yet perhaps be helpful.

To exclude ritual, indeed, from the *substance* of our religion does not by any means signify the exclusion altogether of all that may be called ritual from the service of the Gospel. This truth may, perhaps, need to be clearly stated and strongly insisted on. But certainly the true character of ritual is, or should be, materially changed by its change of position.

Seemly and suitable ritual, with becoming postures, and with the aid of spiritual songs and whatever else may tend to reverence and devotion, and the lifting up of human hearts to the exalted Saviour, should have its due honour in the assemblies of the faithful. The hymnody encouraged by St. Paul (Eph. v. 19) was not to be only internal. "Voice and perhaps instrument also were to be fully audible." But all was to be done (to use the words of Bishop Moule) "not as 'music-worship' (God forbid), but as worship full of music, paid to the remembered, adored, loved, present Lord."¹ To music (however beautiful, and expressive, and impressive), as to ritual, must be assigned a subservient place in the spiritual worship of the New Covenant; and it must be a misuse of ritual which allows it any such prominence as might seem to give it a claim to be accounted as belonging to the *substance* of Christianity, or as an ordained method of bringing down what is heavenly to delight the natural heart, which is of the earth, earthly.² It will be the true use of ritual humbly to assist in bearing hearts aloft in the faith of Christ and in the blood of the New Covenant,

¹ See "Ephesian Studies," p. 277.

² Let the reader be asked to read Cardinal Wiseman's description of the pomp of a jubilee at Rome, and the procession of *Corpus Christi* and the Papal Mass, and judge whether these most imposing spectacles are really calculated to raise the heart to heaven, or whether they are not rather tending to bring what should be heavenly into the influence of the atmosphere of that which is earthly. See Gavazzi's "Four Last Popes," pp. 157-165.

through the rent veil and the open gates of heaven, to the very throne of grace and into the Most Holy Place.

To bring in again the "religion of ritual" is to bring in that which will really dishonour the religion of Christ, which will contest the supremacy of the Gospel, and will tend to degrade from its exalted position the evangelization of the world. It may expedite the spread of nominal Christianity, but will never tend to the conversion of souls or the edifying of the body of Christ.

Bishop Milman, who invited the Cowley Fathers to India, spoke of "the whole fuss about vestments and incense" as threatening "a retrograde movement of Church progress and of the spiritual life." And, writing to one clergyman, he said: "Do not attempt any out-of-the-way ritual for the natives. It is not good for them. I have thought over this point somewhat carefully, and am confident that any excess of ritual is dangerous, as the Native Christians are only too much inclined to rest in a formalism of some shape or other."¹

Now, is there nothing in all this of practical importance in its bearing on the present condition of the English people and the present tendencies which are affecting the worship of the English Church?

Let me make bold to take a few extracts from a paper read some few years ago at a diocesan conference:—²

"The one true ideal of worship is given us by our Lord Himself: 'God is a Spirit: and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship Him.' Any ritual or any music which tends to fill our churches with non-spiritual men and women, and therefore with non-worshippers, is a departure from this high ideal. It is urged sometimes that we get these people into our churches by music, and we hope to do them good, and if we were speaking of an occasional mission service there might

¹ See Stock's "History of C.M.S.," vol. iii., p. 129.

² See paper by Mr. T. F. A. Agnew in the *Record* of November 13, 1896.

be some apology for devices which will bring men out of the streets into the mission-room ; but we are speaking of the regular worship of the Church, the blessed company of all faithful people, and if we flood their services with multitudes of worldly men attracted by beautiful music and artistic services, it will soon be the world and not the Church which will give the tone and gain the upper hand. In the theatre histrionics are all-important—a good voice, a good presence, a good manner, good scenery, good lights, good music ; and the success of the theatre is measured chiefly by its large audiences and financial results. This is precisely the standard against which the Church has always to be on her guard. Her music should not be a performance to attract and please congregations, nor should her services be allowed to degenerate into histrionic displays. . . .

“ A man once said to me : ‘ I have found such a jolly service. It is all sung from beginning to end ; there is an anthem every service ; and the sermon only lasts ten minutes.’ I had reason to fear that this man was leading an immoral life, and I heard six months later that he had died an unhappy death. It is possible that he was beguiled into the belief that he was a worshipper of God when he was only an appreciative listener to a musical service ; and this beautiful service may have lulled a conscience to sleep which should have been roused to repentance and amendment of life. . . .

“ The culmination of this sort of musical service seemed to me to be reached in an American city, where I was a visitor, and in the Protestant Episcopal Church of that country, when four professional singers were engaged for a harvest festival. The local newspapers gave columns of critiques on the soprano, the alto, the tenor, and the bass, and concluded with a single line, ‘ The Bishop then preached an appropriate sermon.’ Thus the prayers and the praises, which were, at the best, man’s message to God, were described as beautiful, splendid, artistic, and in some parts perfect, while God’s message to man, delivered by his accredited messenger, was simply ignored. Surely there is nothing splendid in the

abject confession of our utter sinfulness, in the expression of our unworthy thanksgivings for His unending goodness, in the presentation of petition after petition for the relief of the dire necessities of ourselves and our poor fellow-men; and any type of worship which leads to such mistaken views of the sinful man who worships, and the holy God who listens, cannot be described as a true ideal. . . .

“Our Reformers took their stand on the express words of our Lord, ‘Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature’; and no creature of God needs the Gospel message more than the Englishman of the nineteenth century. These good Reformers deliberately gave special prominence to the preaching of the Gospel in public worship. They noted the words of St. Paul, ‘Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel,’ and they would exalt no ceremony and no sacrament above the great ordinance of preaching. Hence we note that when anti-Reformation ideas begin to prevail, preaching is decried and ceremony exalted; and it is a bad sign of us laity if we are willing to acquiesce in this arrangement—more anxious that our eyes and our ears should be pleased than that our whole being should be filled with the knowledge of God.”

There is something, I believe, well worthy of careful attention in these words of an influential layman, who misses that which in days gone by “made men, even *young men*, *thoroughly in earnest* about the salvation of their own souls and the souls of those around them.”

“For all this,” he adds, “something else is substituted—something which the natural heart of man finds easier and pleasanter. The change is reflected in the modern musical service; but it does not represent to me a higher, but rather a lower, ideal. I could wish that the young of to-day had as high a standard placed before them as was placed before us, and earnestly hope that they will prove themselves more worthy than we have done of our high vocation.”

And here let me be allowed to add some weighty words, written by a correspondent of the *Guardian* (June 20, 1900,

p. 896), words which I believe express the feelings of a large number of faithful and sometimes distressed Churchmen: "Many people are fond of talking of the *beautiful* service of our Church; but is it not true that the majority of such services as now conducted—*i.e.*, with more than a moderate amount of ritual, and which the clergy are eager should be adorned with still more ceremony—are in a great degree doing away with the congregational worship? And because they cannot join in the service it is causing very many Church-people either to forsake their parish church, and that with much sorrow, or, as in some cases, alienating them from it altogether; this is especially so with men.

"Beautiful from an external point of view these services may be, but it cannot but be forced on the attention of earnest Church-people that, as more ritual and so-called reverence come into a service, so much more does the element of congregational worship disappear. And Englishmen do not like their religion to be done by a substitute. . . .

"Then as to the subjects of the sermons in these *beautiful* services. Are they such as St. Paul, St. Peter, or the other Apostles loved to dwell upon? Do they breathe in every line the message of Him whose ministers and ambassadors they are? Alas, no! Instead, the preachers are continually dwelling upon the need there is of earthly supports and means to work out our salvation; of the importance of the Holy Church; of how much there is to be learned from the lives of Saints and the early Fathers of the Church. As often as not the name of the Author and Finisher of our Faith is never even mentioned. No wonder then that the preachers do not touch the hearts of their hearers, and as a remedy cry out for more attractive and more elastic services. But the earnest Christian knows that it is not this that is wanted; but men inspired by the Holy Spirit to know the true needs of the soul; men to take Jesus Christ as the one aim and end of their teaching. A sentence once heard from a stranger on coming out of church has always remained in memory; it was after a sermon on the authority of the Holy

Church—preached fluently enough, but, if remembered rightly, it never mentioned the love of Christ at all—that a man behind said to a companion, ‘I went in hungry, and have come out empty.’

“No Churchman or Churchwoman wishes to have back the ill-order and rather gloomy services of fifty years ago, although Canon Knox Little and others pretend that that is what is wanted; but English people do want services that can be joined in by all the congregation, and they do want more of the Bible and less about the ‘Holy Church’ and the Holy Eucharist preached to them. If this is not done the Church of England will never satisfy the needs of the people at large.”

But if some mistaken views of Christian ritual are to be corrected, if some grievous misuse of Christian ceremonial is to be cast out, we must take good care that something else shall come in. A real interest in the work of Christian missions is one of the great needs—if not *the great need*—of our Church in the century we are just entering upon. A real practical interest, awakened by the sense of the realities of the Christian faith, the truth of Christ’s finished work, the glory of His Divine victory, the assurance of a fountain open for sin and for uncleanness, the knowledge of an open heaven and a living present Saviour, and of a personal God who has raised Him from the dead, and exalted Him to His own right hand to give gifts to men—a real interest, I say, in Christian missions awakened by these realities will be the best breakwater to resist the oncoming waves of superstitious ritualism and faithless agnosticism.

And there is room here for many anxious inquiries, and for much searching of hearts. It must be a grievous misuse of ritual indeed, if that which has no place in the *substance* of our religion is allowed to supersede our interest in that which is of its *substance* indeed. But alas! where are the signs of our desire to glorify Him in the earth, who has so marvellously exalted us among the nations? Signs indeed there are of a revival of ecclesiastical æstheticism; but where

are the signs of a burning desire to make the light of God's truth to shine in the dark places of the earth? Signs indeed there are of the nation's readiness—and we may be thankful for it—to make sacrifices for the relief of those suffering by reason of God's judgments—for judgments they assuredly are—the sore visitations of the sword and the famine and the pestilence. But does not all this tend to make more conspicuous the absence of any corresponding readiness to answer to the call, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature"? We are not forgetting the good work of the S.P.G., nor the labours of the Missionaries sent forth by the Universities' Missions and other Societies, when we ask—Where are the signs of a widespread interest in the cause of Christian missions? "Let it not be forgotten that work at home and work abroad ought never to be in conflict—they act and react one upon the other. Would that in all our parishes they were ever found to occupy in their Scriptural proportion the sympathy, prayers, and self-denying efforts of Christian people. Some few years ago Dr. Jacob, the present Bishop of St. Albans, testified in Southampton that while 'Tom Harvey' had been a blessing to his parish while he had been a curate there, he proved a far greater blessing to that same parish when he was a C.M.S. missionary in far-off China" (*From Month to Month*, No. 50).

Let me make another quotation from "A Letter to Leaders," dated Church Missionary House, November 17, 1899:—

"The one absorbing subject in all minds and on all lips is the war in South Africa. The interest taken by all classes in its progress is immense. Crowds surround the windows in which maps of the seat of war are displayed with small flags marking the dispositions of the opposing forces. . . . Funds are opened everywhere, into which from Prince and peasant are poured vast sums of money, and for which poet and musician contribute of their best, in order to assist the wives and children of the soldiers ordered to the front. The

constant 'latest editions' of the various newspapers which are issued all day long find hosts of eager purchasers. The news of British successes, the tidings of our reverses, the lists of casualties, the descriptions of the embarkations or arrivals of reinforcements, the reports of military operations, and the slightest incidents of the campaign, are all anxiously read and discussed on every side.

"Is there no lesson for us in all this? Are not 'the children of this world' still 'wiser in their generation than the children of light'? Is there anything approaching the national interest in the nation's conflict to be seen among the members of 'Christ's Church militant here on earth' in that great missionary warfare, to carry on which is the primary object of the Church's very existence? Where is to be found the careful study of the maps and books which indicate the Church's position in heathen and Mohammedan lands? Where is the eagerness and readiness to purchase and read the latest accounts of the progress of the campaign as set forth in our missionary magazines? Where is the intelligent and interested discussion of missionary problems and possibilities? How little of all this is to be traced within the borders of the Church of Christ!"

Have we heard in our day voices assuring us that if we really believe the words of our Saviour concerning the ruin of the world and the one way of salvation—we *ought to go mad*?

Then let our answer be—If, indeed, you call the inspired enthusiasm of Apostolic men by the name of *madness*, if you count that to be *insanity* which made the Roman Governor say to his prisoner, "Paul, thou art beside thyself; much learning doth make thee mad," then you are right, we acknowledge the truth, *we ought to go mad*. God grant us to be more and more beside ourselves with such a madness!

Yet, withal, let us remember the answer of St. Paul, "I am not mad, most noble Festus, but I speak forth the words of truth and soberness." Were Paul's words "words of truth and soberness"? If they were, if we acknowledge their

truth, then is not the real madness on the side of those who, knowing the truth, are content to hold their peace, and do little or nothing for the propagation of Christ's Gospel—content to hide the light which has been given to enlighten the world—content, perhaps, to give time and pains and lavish money on costly architectural adornments, and ritual extravagances in some (so-called) sanctuary at their doors, while the good news of salvation is waiting, and asking in vain, for money and men and women to bear it abroad to souls held captive in the dominion of Satan ? Alas ! what a misuse of ritual there may be simply in want of proportion !

I am not intending to deprecate the restoration of churches, nor to depreciate a due regard to architectural effect, nor to speak slightingly of suitable ceremonial. But I cannot but ask—Is there not a grievous *want of proportion*, when anything like artistic luxury of ceremonial service is preferred to the joy of preaching deliverance to the captives, the opening of the prison to them that are bound ?

Let us stand by and listen to the word of a Fisherman Apostle saying to one oppressed of the Devil, “ Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have give I thee.” And then let us turn our eyes to a (so-called) successor of Peter, who is desiring to appropriate splendour and display as a prerogative of the Papal Office (see Creighton, “ History of Papacy during the Reformation,” edit. 1887, vol. iii., p. 28), multiplying precious stones, silver and gold, and keeping in constant employment a number of jewellers and embroiderers making vestments and ornaments to be bestowed on the Churches in the Patrimony (pp. 53-55). And let us ask—Which of these shall we regard as a true fisher of men ? Which of them shall we expect most truly to make known God's Truth, “ with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven ” ? (Compare also pp. 62-66, especially p. 63.)

The Apostle, *beside himself*, was under the persuasion that he had received an injunction from the Lord who had *loved him, and had given Himself for him*, even a word which had said, “ Depart, for I will send thee far hence unto the Gen-

tiles" (Acts xxii. 21). Was this a delusion? If it *was* we should pity the poor maniac. But if it was the *truth*, we do not wonder that the Apostle held himself *in debt*—holding the riches of Christ in trust for the Gentiles afar off, as well as for the Jews that were near. "I am a debtor," he says (ἀφειλέτης εἰμί, Rom. i. 14); and his debt could only be discharged by the preaching of the Gospel (εὐαγγελίσασθαι, v. 15).

There are those now who are persuaded that the Word of the Risen Lord, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature" (κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει, Mark xvi. 15; cf. Col. i. 23), contains an injunction of living force for all the ages of the Christian Church. If they are under a delusion, let them be pitied for their folly. But if they are right, let it be acknowledged that the Christian Church is *a debtor*, with a debt which can only be discharged by the evangelization of the whole earth—let it be realized that we hold the Gospel of Christ in trust for a perishing world. And then, shall we not be willing to postpone the luxuries of costly ceremonial æsthetics to the *discharge of our trusts, and the PAYMENT OF OUR DEBTS?*

What is it—let us ask—which is *the important thing* in the view of our ascended Lord? What is the work for which He has given us the promise of His presence? It has been well said, "This is what He holds to be His urgent, pressing undertaking in His exalted life, that He should be with His people in the ministration of His name to all the nations. Such is the need of the nations, and such is the glory of His name, such is the urgent call that it should be known, such is the infinity of its blessings, and its treasures, when known it is, that He undertakes, even to the end of the world—may I say it with reverence?—to *devote Himself* to being with His people while they go to all the nations."

Let laymen learn to make the cause of Christian missions their own—*their own*, simply because they are Christians and have received the word, "Ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord"—*their own*, if only they are living members of the Church, which has heard, and still

hears, the cry, "Arise, shine, for thy light has come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee."

Let the clergy rejoice to know that they have no ritual to serve as *of the substance* of the religion which they minister, that they have one and one only sacrificial function to perform, that their sacerdotal priesthood has its one grand exercise in fully preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ, that the offering up of a faithful people may be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost.

Let all hearts be set on fire with the truth of the Gospel and the power of the Gospel, and be made to burn with the desire to make God's ways known upon earth, His saving truth among all nations—to speed the Gospel message with freewill offerings, with prayers and supplications with thanksgiving; and then may each one—cleric or layman, man or woman, old or young, rejoicing in the blessing vouchsafed to our mission-work at home and abroad—then may all, each in measure, take up the words of the Apostle spoken in view of his priestly (but unsacerdotal) office in the Gospel (a Gospel with no sacrificial ritual), and say, "We have, therefore, whereof we may glory through Jesus Christ in those things which pertain to God" (Rom. xv. 17).

But how shall this be?

"Not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts" (Zech. iv. 6).

May not the prayer of the prophet of old be a prayer for God's waiting people as they stand by their offering now (*ἱερουργοῦντες τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Θεοῦ*): "Hear us, O God, hear us, that this people may know that Thou art the Lord God, and that Thou hast turned their heart back again"? (1 Kings xviii. 37).

May not the hearts of those who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity unite as the heart of one man in praying:

"Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire,
And lighten with celestial fire.
Thy blessed unction from above
Is comfort, life, and fire of love"?

And "The God which answereth by fire, let Him be God."

The fire of love, celestial fire, fire from heaven, is not this that which we need to come down on our living sacrifice? Shall we think that those who wait upon our God, the true God, the living God, shall be like the prophets of Baal, who found that, in answer to their cries, "there was neither voice, nor any to answer, nor any that regarded" (1 Kings xviii. 29)?

Our God waiteth to be gracious. Have we forgotten the word of Him who says, "Whatsoever ye shall ask in My name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son" (John xiv. 13)?

He who for our sakes became poor that we through His poverty might be rich—He, now exalted to be a prince and a Saviour, says, "Ask, and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full."

Once more, in conclusion, I will take the liberty to quote the words of another: "We want far more earnest, persevering, believing prayer. Oh, the power which is possessed by the youngest among us, the poorest among us, the power of prayer! It is the power which moves the Hand which moves the world. Do you want a motive? Let me give you one. Go back to Good Friday, stand under the shadow of the cross of Christ, and look:

"See from His head, His hands, His side,
Sorrow and love flow mingled down."

That was for you and for me. Do you want a motive? My friends, if that does not move us to real self-sacrifice, to real devotion [not ritual observance], to real consecration [not ceremonial service], what will? . . . *The love of Christ constraineth us.*"¹

God has a Name to be hallowed. God has a Kingdom to come. God has a Will to be done. And all in this world of

¹ Rev. B. Baring-Gould. Quoted from *Mercy and Truth*, June, 1900, p. 150.

sin. For *this* God will have His everlasting Gospel to be preached. But the *doing* must be God's own *doing*. And for *this* He will be enquired of by His people to *do it* for them.

Do human reasonings, the counsels of man's wisdom, ask, How can it be that the Almighty power of the Creator should (in any true sense) be at the disposal of the worms of earth?

Let doubting thoughts and faithless questionings be silenced in our hearts, that we may hearken to a word which comes forth from the High and Lofty One, Who inhabiteth Eternity—"Thus saith the Lord, the Holy one of Israel, and his Maker: Ask Me of the things that are to come; concerning My sons, and concerning the work of My hands, command ye Me" (Isa. xiv. 11, R.V.).

"Thine, O Christian, is this treasure,
To thy risen Head assured!
Thine in full and gracious measure—
Thine by covenant secured!
Now arise! His word possessing,
Claim the promise of the Lord;
Plead through Christ for showers of blessing,
Till the Spirit be outpoured."

F. R. HAVERGAL.
(*"Life Mosaic,"* p. 227.)

SOME CURIOSITIES OF PATRISTIC AND MEDIÆVAL LITERATURE.

No. I.

Not long since the question was asked, we believe, in one of the weekly journals: “Did authors correct their printers’ proofs in the sixteenth century?” We can see no reason whatever to doubt that they did. That they did so in the early part of the seventeenth century can hardly be doubted. If we had no other evidence of this, it might suffice to appeal to the prefatory matter which stands before an edition of the works of Fulbert of Chartres which appeared in the year 1608. The editor was Charles De Villiers, a Doctor of Divinity of the University of Paris. And the evidence of his correcting the proofs of his publication stands connected with a most remarkable literary curiosity. It is one to which attention has been called anew only a few years ago. But it is one generally so little known, and one of so startling a character, that we believe the readers of this paper will, many of them at least, be thankful to have this extraordinary history once more simply set before them.

De Villiers in his introduction directs special attention, in *rather* an unusual way, to his list of *Errata* at the end. And in a *very* unusual way he makes an apology for these errors of the press. He pleads the difficulty of avoiding misprints, and urges, in effect, that it requires more than the eyes of an Argus to detect them.¹ This is unquestion-

¹ The words of the notice should be well marked: “*Lectores admonitos velim, si forte quosdam errores invenerint, ad errata recurrent. Etiamsi Argus esses, Lector, in eo munere, tamen aliquis error semper irrepit in Tipog.*”

ably the defence of one who regarded himself—not the printer—as responsible for mistakes, and therefore of one who had himself corrected the press.

But the remarkable thing to be observed is this: When we turn to the page of *Errata*, in obedience to the expressive admonition “ad lectores,” we find (with one exception) nothing to be very much noted either as regards the number or the character of the misprints. They are all of a rather ordinary character, with only one very extraordinary exception. What are we to say of this one singular exception? We must say this, that it is certainly one which it did not require the eyes of an Argus to detect, and that, regarded as an *erratum* of the press, it is such an one as never was heard of before, and is never likely to be witnessed again.

We are, in fact, admonished that two words have found insertion in the text which have no place there, and are to be omitted. Strange that a printer’s error should have put in thirteen letters which were not in his *copy*! Stranger still that those thirteen letters should have shaped themselves into two Latin words correctly spelt! Stranger still that those two Latin words should have fitted in, in the text, as if they were made to fit! Stranger still that the two words thus fitted should have completely changed the meaning of the author, altering quite the character of his doctrine, and, in the matter of a controversy dividing Christendom at the time of the publication, bringing him over from one side of the contest to the other. The words interpolated are “*dicet hæreticus.*”¹

Truly the faith of the faithful, or the credulity of the credulous was never put to a severer test than when it was taught to believe that these words had found their way into the text of Fulbert only by an *erratum* of typography.

But we are treating this matter too lightly. It is a matter

¹ In his title-page De Villiers commends the writings which he edits as availing for the confutation of the heresies of his day. His words are: “*Quæ tam ad refutandas hæreses hujus temporis quam ad Gallorum Hist. pertinent.*”

which should be regarded with all sad and sober seriousness. It is, of course, obvious to all that this insertion was not made by the printer, and was the result of no accident. It is utterly incredible that De Villiers should have supposed that it could pass as a typographical error with any who really took the trouble to examine with care his table of *errata*.

But De Villiers was in a great strait. He had made the insertion. He had to make what provision he could to meet the possible detection of the error, and safeguard himself from the consequent charge of dealing fraudulently with his materials, and making his author denounce his own teaching as heresy. And it can hardly be doubted that *after the printing of the sheets* he had been made sensible of the probability of detection, and the exceeding difficulty of persuading theologians to believe that that "*dicet hæreticus*" had ever been written by Fulbert.

His work was published at a time when Christendom was being shaken by the doctrines of the Reformed, doctrines which denied the "Real Presence" in the sense in which that novel term had become associated with the novel doctrine of Transubstantiation. This "Reformed" teaching was heresy in the eyes of all who upheld the mediæval system of doctrine. It maintains a figurative interpretation of the language of the institution of the Lord's Supper, as well as of the teaching of our Lord as contained in the sixth chapter of the Gospel of St. John. The publication of the works of Fulbert was confessedly intended by De Villiers (in part) to be an antidote to the prevailing "*hæresies*." But then Fulbert, who had been at one time the instructor of Berengarius,¹ was found to have in his writings one pas-

¹ Not very much is known of the history of Fulbert. He was a disciple of Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II. After acquiring a great reputation by his lectures at Chartres, he became Bishop of the See in 1007, and died April 10, 1028 (or 1029, according to Fleuri). See Du Pin, *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ix., ch. i., p. 1.

It must not be inferred that Berengarius derived his doctrine from Fulbert. Adelmann's letter would rather suggest the contrary. See

sage, at least, which might quite fairly be claimed as giving most unequivocal support to the teaching of these very heretics themselves.¹ How should this passage be dealt with? It was easy to neutralize its effect by a little insertion; and if an insertion was to be made, why not have it made in a form which would contain a clear condemnation of the language which might be adduced in support of Protestant doctrine? Let it be made to appear to be the language of a heretic in the time of Fulbert himself, language which Fulbert himself shall denounce as heretical. Let the two words "*dicet hæreticus*" be put in as the words of Fulbert; and what could be desired more? what to show more clearly that the doctrines of the Reformed were in the time of Fulbert, and in the view of Fulbert, doctrines of corruption, doctrines of a corrupt and heretical faith, yea, rather, doctrines of sinful unbelief?²

Gieseler, Eccles. Hist., vol. ii., p. 398, edit. Clark, and Hospinian, Op., tom. iii., p. 287, Geneva, 1681. See also "Eucharistic Worship," pp. 294, 297. But the views of Berengarius himself were by no means what are sometimes regarded as Berengarian (see "Romish Mass and English Church," p. 12), just as the true and matured views of Zwingle and his followers were not altogether what are commonly denounced as Zwinglian. See Hooker, Eccles. Pol., book v., ch. lxvii., § 2; Works, vol. ii., p. 349, edit. Keble; and especially the "Consensus Tigurinus." See also "Eucharistic Presence," pp. 34, 35, 36, 742, 743.

¹ Bishop Cosin quotes largely from the Epistle of Fulbert to Adeodatus as against the Corporal Presence, adding: "Quæ omnia clarissime dicta sunt contra eos, qui Christum in hoc mysterio corporaliter in os et ventrem hominum intrare minus crasse docuerunt" (see Hist. Transub., cap. vii., § 3; Works, A.C.L., vol. iv., p. 114). The extracts will be found in De Villiers' edition of Fulbert, fol. 8 *sqq.* Cosin might have added that Fulbert says of Christ: "Ne sublati Corporis fraudaremur præsenti munimene, Corporis nihilominus et sanguinis sui *pignus* salutare nobis reliquit" (fol. 8). Still there seem to be indications that he was not altogether free from the growing superstition of the age. And some of his language may be thought to point to some approximation to the view of Rupert of Deutz. See ff. 8-10, and "Eucharistic Worship," p. 294, note, and 297, note. See also Du Pin, Eccles. Hist., vol. ix., p. 2, London, 1699.

² Schröckh says that De Villiers, full of wretched apprehension that the words *figura ergo est* might be damaging to the doctrine of the

But when De Villiers thus carried out his design of making his author denounce his own language and renounce his own doctrine, he cannot have been aware that the language and the doctrine of Fulbert here, was not only Fulbert's, that it was the language and the doctrine of the great St. Augustin, which Fulbert was making his own.

And so that little insertion had been now set up in position, as a piece of artillery pointed to fire its terrible condemnation against the force not only of English and Swiss and Swabian Sacramentaries of the sixteenth century, not only against the real teaching of Fulbert himself, but against that which had been the doctrine of the great Doctor of the Christian Church of old time, whom all subsequent generations of Christians had agreed to recognise as a great Catholic authority.

This was a serious matter. And there can be little doubt that this serious matter had come to the knowledge of De Villiers between the time of the printing the sheets of his text, and the time of his making out his list of *errata*. It is not to be supposed for a moment that he could have made Fulbert write that "*dicet hæreticus*" if at the time he had been aware that that *hæreticus* was the great Bishop of Hippo. And having once made Fulbert write this condemnation of the teaching of St. Augustin, he would hardly have wished to publish to the world that that "*dicet hæreticus*" had got in by printer's error—that it was not in the MS. of Petavius which he was using, and was not the writing of Fulbert, unless it had now been made known to him that the doctrine he had to make Fulbert condemn was indeed the doctrine of the great Catholic Doctor.¹

Church, inserted *dicet hæreticus*, and that this shameless falsification has drawn on him the lasting suspicion that he may probably have altered by his own authority other passages of his edition (Christliche Kirchengesch., vol. xxiii., p. 506. See Canon Robertson, Hist. of Ch. Ch., vol. iii., p. 344).

¹ Cave, in his "Historia Literaria" (p. 418, Geneva, 1694), notes: "Hic loci misellus editor, refutandis hæresibus hujus temporis (uti in editionis fronte gloriatur) intentus, post voces istas *figura ergo est*, glossam

The insertion had been made. The printer's work had been done. It was too late to withdraw it. Yet he dare not let it go uncorrected. It would never do to let it be said that he was attributing heresy, the heresy of Protestant Reformers, to St. Augustin the Great.

What was to be done? The error must be corrected in the list of *errata*. And accordingly in the list of *errata*, to which he directs the reader's special attention, and for the errors of which he pleads the lack of Argus eyes, we find it stated that the words "*dicet hæreticus*" are an addition¹ which is not found in the MS. of Petavius.

Does the reader stand amazed at reading such an admission as this? Does he say to himself, Why, what a support, then, after all, is here for the doctrine of the Reformed! What an utter defeat is here for the purpose that Fulbert had in view! Intending to curse the Sacramentaries, he has blessed them altogether! Having made Fulbert say their language was heretical, he is now constrained to confess that the language thus condemned was really the lan-

istam, *dicet hæreticus*, inseruerat. Tandem post emissum prælo librum, integrum periodum in S. Augustini Operibus legi, et exinde a Fulberto descriptam esse admonitus, binas istas voces, *dicet hæreticus*, inter errata typographica retulit, eas præter Codicis, quo usus est, MS. fidem, additas esse confessus."

But Aubertin had already denounced the falsification in his work on the Eucharist (*De Eucharistia*, p. 667)—the French edition of which appeared in 1633—following the lead of Ussher (then Bishop of Meath), who, in 1625, had written: "He that put in those words '*dicet hæreticus*' thought he had notably met with the heretics of this time, but was not aware that thereby he made St. Augustin a heretic for company. . . . Which some belike having put the publisher in mind of, he was glad to put this among his *Errata*, and to confess that these two words were not to be found in the manuscript copy which he had from Petavius" ("Answer to Jesuit's Challenge," *Intr. Ch.*, *Works*, *edit. Elrington*, vol. iii., p. 22).

¹ The following is a *verbatim et literatim* copy of the words which appear in the *Errata* of the edition of 1608: "Fol. 168. Adverte ista verba *figura ergo est*, additum est, *dicet hæreticus*, nam non habentur hæc duo verba in Manuscript. D. Petavii. Ne quis tamen fallatur cum leget ista, *figura ergo est*, *interpretatio est mystica*."

guage of Fulbert himself—language, too, which was the very echo of the teaching of the greatest among the Doctors of Christian antiquity. Does the reader stand aghast?

We cannot doubt that De Villiers must have anticipated some such result, must have felt the reader would naturally judge that the words in his text—now deprived of the *dicet hæreticus* of his pious fraud—must give support to the teaching which he wished to denounce. And to deprive his adversaries of the advantage they might derive, and to deprive the words of his author of the meaning they would naturally bear, he makes this addition to his statement: “*Interpretatio est mystica.*”

And now, have we come to the end of this strange history? Not quite. Perhaps the strangest part yet remains to be told.

We should surely have expected that succeeding editors of the works of Fulbert would have omitted the insertion made by De Villiers, and so have avoided the necessity of inserting also his correction. But such a reasonable expectation will be found to be mistaken. It is not so. The “*Sermones*” of Fulbert have been reprinted (under Romish auspices) in the “*Bibliotheca Magna*,¹ and again in Despont’s “*Bibliotheca Maxima*,² of 1677, and again in Migne’s “*Patrologia*,” of more recent date.

And still, in each of these editions (*mirabile dictu*) has reappeared the “*dicet hæreticus*” of De Villiers, and in each case with a note taken (not quite *verbatim*³) from his *Errata*,

¹ As regards the “*Bibliotheca Magna*,” we are relying on an old memorandum, which, however, we believe to be quite reliable. As regards the “*Bibliotheca Maxima*” and Migne, we have verified our assertion by recent examination.

² It is right to add that here the works of Fulbert appear as professedly a reprint of the edition of De Villiers. In other cases, however, the editor has generally (not without exception) made the corrections indicated in the *Errata*.

³ The marginal note is “*Interpretatio est mystica, et nota hæc duo verba dicet hæreticus non haberi in MS. D. Petavii.*” See “*Bibliotheca Maxima*,” tom. xviii., p. 47. In Migne’s edition the same words are found in a footnote (Patrol. Lat., tom. cxli., c. 334).

stating that these words are not found in the MS. of Petavius, and anew admonishing the reader that the interpretation is mystical.

It will hardly be expected of us that we should bring to a close a paper on this literary curiosity without desiring to point the reader's attention to the instruction it may convey to us. It is an example full of instruction.

Regarded as an example of a method of dealing with ancient records of the Christian Church, it is one which unhappily does not stand alone. To deal with other examples, however, is outside our present purpose.

But with reference to De Villiers' subsequent explanation of Fulbert's plain words as "mystical" language, it is important for us to observe that we have here an example of the way in which not only Romanists of the age of De Villiers, but modern controversialists also explain away some of the clearest and most distinct statements of the Fathers on the doctrine of the Eucharist.

As De Villiers would bring to nought, so of necessity do modern Romanist and Romanizing theologians seek to bring to nought assertions, not of St. Augustin only, but of other Patristic authorities, which, in their obvious meaning, give sure and solid support to that doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper which is maintained by the theology of the "Reformed," and supported by the consensus of all the great doctors of the English Church (High Churchmen as well as Low Churchmen) since the Reformation.

On what ground do they justify their explaining away such plain language? How can they support their strange glosses? What apology can they offer for emasculating the force of such unmistakable language as this of St. Augustin by anything like the marginal note, "Interpretatio est mystica"?

They can affirm, and do affirm—and they affirm truly—that, except as thus explained, these passages from St. Augustin and others are inconsistent with another class of

passages which may easily be adduced in abundance from other Fathers, and from St. Augustin himself—passages which (unexplained) contain the affirmation of that which *these* seem to deny.

It is quite true there are two classes of quotations to be deduced from the Fathers (and from the Holy Scriptures also) which on this subject (as unexplained) are contradictory. An explanation there must be of one or other of these two classes of passages if a harmony is to be effected between them.

The only question is, which of these classes is to be interpretative of the other—which class is to submit to receive explanation from the other class?

The answer to this question is of supreme importance in the Eucharistic controversy. It demands the most careful and candid consideration of all who are really anxious to be guided into the truth of sacramental doctrine.

And for a true answer to this question we need to give due attention to these two other questions:—

1. Is there anything in the nature of the quotations themselves which makes the one class of sayings more tolerant of explanation than the other?

2. Is there any indication in the writings of the Fathers themselves as to *which* of these classes of sayings they intended to be interpretative of the other?

I. We must touch very briefly on the first of these questions. The two classes of sayings may be described thus. One class speaks of the Eucharistic elements as *being* the Body and Blood of Christ. The other class speaks of them as figures, types, symbols of the Body and Blood of Christ, and accordingly regards the language of eating and drinking that Body and Blood as figurative language, and thus implies that the outward elements are not the Body and Blood of Christ in reality, but in figurative representation, as effectual signs or equivalent proxies for the purpose for which they were ordained.

And if this is anything like a fair statement of the case, we are certainly not making an unreasonable demand when we claim to have it allowed that the sayings of the latter class are naturally and necessarily the legitimate interpreters of the former class.

There are certain propositions in which the sense of the verbal copula is restricted by the application of common-sense—so clearly restricted that no one would ever think of understanding it in its literal meaning. In such cases language may use unbridled liberty; and that without fear, from the very fact of its being so impossible for any to give the words a literal interpretation. Take as an example from the Old Testament the words of David, which he spake concerning the water from the well of Bethlehem, “Is not this the blood of the men that went in jeopardy of their lives?” Take as an example from the New Testament the word of Christ, which declares “I am the Vine, ye are the branches.”

And are we to say that such an application of common-sense must needs have been utterly out of place in the understanding of the words of Institution and of Patristic language built upon them? And must it be accounted heresy to class these words beside similar Scriptural statements which everyone acknowledges are not to be understood *ut verba sonant?* And what if such statements require limitation or explanation to bring them into harmony with the true faith of Christ’s glorified Body and of His session at the right hand of God?

Assuredly the sayings of the one class are perfectly tolerant of simple explanation by the teaching of the other class.

But when, on the other hand, you attempt to explain away the second class of quotations to bring them into harmony with the literal meaning of the other class, what a hopeless task is before you! You may make your marginal gloss, “*Interpretatio est mystica,*” but what does it mean? Try to make clear its meaning, and see whether it is possible to make it mean anything but absolute nonsense!

II. The second question need not detain us. There are

sayings of the Fathers in abundance (especially in the writings of St. Augustin) which indicate with a clearness which it is impossible to controvert, that the sayings of the first class are intended to be understood as interpreted by sayings of the second class. It is surprising to mark how these interpretative sayings of the Fathers have been ignored in much that has been written on one side of the present Eucharistic controversy.¹

After anything like a fair investigation of such passages, it is strange that it should not be seen that very much of the language which has been so confidently appealed to as supporting the doctrine of the so-called Real Objective Presence is—by the teaching of the Fathers themselves—to

¹ One such extract as the following would suffice to turn the force of any number of extracts in which the sacramental elements are called the Body and Blood of Christ, and the Eucharist is spoken of as the sacrifice of Christ: “*Die Dominico dicimus, Hodie Dominus resurrexit. . . . Cur nemo tam ineptus est, ut nos ista loquentes arguat esse mentitos, nisi quia istos dies secundum illorum, quibus hæc gesta sunt, similitudinem nuncupamus, ut dicatur ipse dies qui non est ipse, sed revolutione temporis similis ejus? . . . Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in seipso, et tamen . . . omni die populis immolatur, nec utique mentitur, qui interrogatus eum responderit immolari. Si enim sacramenta quandem similitudinem earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. En hæc similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut enim secundum quendam modum sacramentum Corporis Christi Corpus Christi est, ita et Sacramentum Fidei fides est*” (Augustin, Epist. ad Bonifacium, Ep. xcvi, § 9, Op. tom. ii., c. 267, 268, Paris, 1683).

Such interpretative sayings, however, might easily be multiplied. See “Eucharistic Worship,” pp. 253-266.

The Fathers, trusting to the common-sense of Christian men not to misunderstand their sacramental language, freely gave names to the signs which they considered it impossible for sensible men to understand otherwise than as pertaining only to the things signified. Augustin says: “*Ut . . . literam sequi, et signa pro rebus quæ iis significantur accipere, servilis infirmitatis est; ita inutiliter signa interpretari, male vagantis error est*” (De Doct. Christianâ, lib. iii., cap. ix., Op. tom. iii., par i., c. 49). And so (with another reference) Cyril of Alexandria says: Διαγελῆν οἷμαι πρέπειν τοὺς ἀνοήτως αἰρετικούς, τὸ ἐν τάξει σημείου τεθὲν, εἰς ἀλήθειαν πρᾶγματος ἐκλαμβάνοντας (In Joan. I., 32, 33. Com. lib. ii., cap. i., Op. ed. Migne, tom. vi., c. 213).

be sacramentally understood. That is to say, it is mystical or sacramental language ; and sacramental language is that in which the sign bears the name of that which is signified. In this sense the gloss of De Villiers (so absurd and ridiculous as applied to the other class) might fitly be applied to this whole class of sayings, “ *Interpretatio est mystica.* ”¹

But never let it be supposed that this mystical interpretation of Patristic and Scriptural language is intended to make “ the outward sign ” a less “ *effectual sign* ” for conveying to the faith of the faithful the full Blessed Reality which it signifies. It is not the less a real communion of the Body and Blood of Christ because the *res sacramenti* is not *in* or *under the form of* the elements. The Body and Blood of Christ are not less “ verily and indeed taken and received,” because “ only after an heavenly and spiritual manner.” Herein the theology of the Reformed has been grievously misrepresented. In its true teaching it leads our faith to feed indeed on the one perfect sacrifice once offered, that by the merits and death of Christ, and through faith in His Blood we may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His Passion.

Could we have a clearer, a more beautiful exposition of the Scriptural, the Patristic, the Reformed doctrine of the Lord’s Supper (as upheld by such men as Andrewes and Cosin, and Jeremy Taylor and Bull) than that to which we are led by those words of St. Augustin and that teaching of Fulbert, on which De Villiers in vain set the stigma of heresy ? Let the reader be asked to mark the saying and to ponder it well : “ *Facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere : figura est ergo, præcipiens passioni Dominicæ communicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoriâ, quod pro nobis Caro Ejus crucifixâ et vulnerata est* ” (De Doct. Christi, iii. 16).

¹ Compare the words quoted by Gratian as from Augustin (see “ Eucharistic Worship,” p. 308) : “ *Vocatur ipsa immolatio carnis quæ sacerdotis manibus fit, Christi passio, mors, crucifixio, non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio* ” (Decret., Par. II., De Consecr. Dist. II., c. xlviij.).

No. II.

THE former paper of this series aimed at showing how the doctrine of the Eucharist must have been changed between the fourth and the sixteenth centuries. Such a change is the only reasonable way of accounting for the fact that a distinct statement of Augustin in his own *ipsissima verba* was hastily marked with the brand of heresy by a Romish divine in 1608.

It was the figurative interpretation of our blessed Lord's words concerning eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood, which was taught by the great Bishop of Hippo, and denounced by the Papist De Villiers.

In the present paper also we shall have to do with the question of the figurative or representative character of the sacramental elements.

We shall have to mark how in the eighth century the consecrated elements were asserted by some, and denied by others, to be *images*, or *figures*, or *representations*,¹ or types of the Body and Blood of Christ.

There is a very remarkable *curiosity* connected with the use of the word *antitypes* (and the like) as used by the earlier Fathers, and as affording a bone of contention between two Councils (both summoned as *Œcumene*) in the latter half of the eighth century, which may well afford another most important lesson of instruction concerning the growth of Eucharistic doctrine in the advancing ages of the Church's history.

These councils belong to a period in ecclesiastical history

¹On the distinction drawn by some between the terms *image*, *figure*, *representation*, see "Eucharistic Worship," pp. 279, 280.

which is not, perhaps, very often carefully studied ; and it may probably be assumed that many of the readers of this paper are not familiar with it. It will be desirable, therefore, to give something of an outline of such portions of this history as are important for the purpose which we have in view.

But first it will be necessary to say a word for English readers concerning the meaning of the word *antitype*.

The sense it bears in our modern language is here altogether out of sight. It is true that before this date occasional examples of such a sense may be found. But such examples are quite exceptional. All readers of the Greek Testament know that this word is used in the Epistle to the Hebrews to signify "the man-made *figures* of the true" most holy place in the heavens—not the truth or reality in heavenly things which correspond to the earthly representations. The anti-type is nothing but the earthly representation or sign of that which is the heavenly and the true. The *ἀντί* here is not the *ἀντί* of correspondence or *συστοιχία* in heavenly things, but is the *ἀντί* of substitution or proxyship. And the *ἀντίτυπον* is thus the earthly type which *stands* to represent the original or the reality in things above.

The period of history to which we are about to direct attention should be viewed in connection with the life of a very remarkable man, which terminated about the time of its commencement. John Mansour, commonly known as Joannes Damascenus, appears to have been born at Damascus towards the close of the previous century—the son of a Christian father who may probably be identified with the treasurer to the Caliph Abdulmelek. And John himself was at an early age called to the court, and became vizier to the then reigning Caliph. It was in the year 726 that the Byzantine Emperor, Leo the Isaurian, put forth an edict against image-worship, simply forbidding the adoration of images and paintings. This was followed in 730 by a second edict ordering the destruction of all such objects of worship. John of Damascus straightway stood forth as the champion

of the images or icons, and sent forth two polemics against the action of the Emperor. But the most important of the works of Damascenus is his well-known book *De fide Orthodoxa*, which, as the first complete body of divinity which is known to us, has made its influence felt in the West as well as the East, and may probably have been before the Lombard when he prepared his famous "Sentences." In this work we have, for the present, only to notice one particular. Our attention must be confined to his dealing with the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. He strongly insists that the bread and wine are not a *type* of the Body and Blood of Christ. "God forbid," he says, "but (they are) the very deified Body of the Lord itself" ($\muὴ γένοντο, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου τεθεωμένον$), "since the Lord Himself said, *This is My, not a type of My Body, but My Body ; and not a type of My Blood, but My Blood*" (lib. iv., cap. xiii., Op., tom. i., p. 271, edit. Le Quien). And a little further on he declares that if any had called the bread and wine antitypes ($\alphaντίτυπα$) of the Body and Blood of the Lord, as Basil the Saint spake, they spoke it not after the consecration, but so named the oblation itself only before it had been consecrated (p. 273). In this matter Damascenus was following the lead of Anastasius of Mount Sinai, who had taught in the seventh century that what Christians receive in the Eucharist is not an antitype ($\alphaντίτυπον$) of Christ's Body and Blood. This Anastasius may perhaps be looked upon as "the first inventor" (to use the words of Waterland, vol. v., p. 195) "of the spiritual *bread-body*, or first founder of that system," though Waterland questions it having so early a date.

What all this has to do with our history will appear very shortly.

It is not to be wondered at that in this century a strong and determined opposition should have set in against the superstition and idolatry of image-worship. It is sad indeed to think that, at this date, Christianity should have become so deeply corrupted. "Images," we are told, "were selected to be god-parents ; part of the colouring with which they

had been painted was scratched off and mixed with the sacramental wine: the consecrated bread was first laid upon images, that so the faithful might receive from the hands of these saints the Body of the Lord" (Kurtz, "Hist. of Ch. Church," edit. Edersheim, vol. i., p. 252). Yet the monks and the populace, filled with superstitious zeal, were united in their opposition to the edicts of the Emperor. And in their resistance they were supported by the aged Germanus, the Patriarch of Constantinople. Conflicts with the military, tumults, and bloodshed followed. Pope Gregory II. spoke of the Emperor "as if he had been a silly naughty boy"; and Gregory III., in a synod held at Rome in 732, "pronounced an anathema against all opponents of image-worship" (Kurtz, p. 253).

In 741 Leo the Isaurian died, and was succeeded by his son Constantinus V., commonly called in derision Copronymus. By him an *Œcumical Council* was summoned to support him in his endeavours to put down this superstition. This synod met at Constantinople, A.D. 754. There were present 350 bishops, but Rome sent no legates. And no patriarch came from Alexandria, Antioch, or Jerusalem, cities which were now under the domination of the Saracens. Moreover, the See of Constantinople was then vacant. The Council showed itself quite ready to do the Emperor's bidding. It manifested no lack of zeal in carrying out the purpose for which it had been assembled. It pronounced "the most sweeping condemnation against every kind of reverence paid to images" (Kurtz, p. 254). We need not dwell now on the barbarous cruelty with which its decrees were enforced, nor on the dreadful anathema which followed, issued by Pope Stephen III., A.D. 769, against all opponents of images.

But we are concerned with the language of this Council. It is important for our purpose to notice how it speaks of the elements of the Holy Communion. In its desire to condemn the likeness of images, and the idolatry which they encouraged, it insists that Christ ordained that the oblation should be of the substance of bread which does not resemble

the form of a man, and this in order that there might be no room for idolatry to be brought in by a side wind (*ἄρτον οὐσίαν προσέταξεν προσφέρεσθαι μὴ σχηματίζονταν ἀνθρώπου μορφὴν, ἵνα μὴ εἰδωλολατρεία παρεισαχθῇ*, Mansi, tom. xiii., c. 264). It states that no other form or type (than bread) was chosen by Christ as capable of representing His Incarnation (*ώς οὐκ ἄλλον εἶδοντος ἐπιλεχθέντος παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὑπ' οὐρανὸν, ἡ τύπον, εἰκονίσαι τὴν αὐτοῦ σάρκωσιν δυναμένον, ibid.*). And it calls this the Divinely-delivered image of His Flesh (*ἡ θεοπαράδοτος εἰκὼν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ*); and, again, names it the true image of the Incarnate dispensation of Christ our God (*ἀψευδῆς εἰκὼν τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν*).

So much for the *dicta* of this would-be OEcumenical Council. The Emperor died, and the wind changed. We pass over a period of thirty-three years. An Empress now sits on the throne. She is on the side of images. She is labouring to undo the work of the iconoclasts. Another Council is summoned. And this synod has been allowed to rank as oecumenical. The Pope is represented at this second Council of Nicæa, A.D. 787.

Here homage to images and prostration before pictures (distinguished from *λατρεία* due only to God) is allowed and approved.

But here again, for our present purpose, we are concerned with the language of this Council with respect to the elements of the Eucharist. At this synod were read the words of the synod of 754, and this reading was followed by the reading of its own words of reply and condemnation. Strong and vehement is the repudiation of what had been decreed by the previous Council—decrees which had been approved by some of the very Bishops¹ who now sat in judgment upon them. But what have they to say in reply to the contention that the Eucharistic elements are the only sanctioned representations of the Body of Christ?

¹ An account of the humiliating conduct of the Bishops who had previously belonged to the party of the Iconoclasts may be seen in Canon Robertson's "Church History," vol. iii., p. 134.

It alleges that the Fathers of the Council of Constantinople, in turning away from the truth concerning the making of images, had been carried on in their error into another extreme madness of frenzy (*eis ἐτέραν ἐσχάτην ἀποτληξίαν μανίαν*). They meet the assertion of the Eucharistic bread being an image of Christ's Body by distinct denial. They assert that not one of the holy Apostles (the trumpet voices of the Holy Ghost), and not one of our illustrious Fathers, ever spoke of our unbloody sacrifice which is made for the remembrance of the Passion of our God and of His whole dispensation as an image of His Body. For they had not received of the Lord so to speak, or so to profess their belief (*οὐτως λέγειν η δομολογεῖν*). In support of their assertion they quote from our Lord's words in John vi., and from the words of institution, noting that our Lord did not say, "Take, eat the image of My Body" (*οὐκ εἶπε· Λάβετε, φάγετε τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ σώματός μου*). Then, after further quoting from St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi., they conclude that "it is manifestly evident, as regards the unbloody sacrifice offered by the priest, that nowhere is it called an image or type, by the Lord, or by the Apostles, or by the Fathers, but the Body itself, and the Blood itself." And they add that indeed before the perfection of the consecration (*πρὸ μὲν τῆς τοῦ ἀγιασμοῦ τελειώσεως*) it had seemed fit to some of the holy Fathers piously to name them *antitypes*. They mention by name Eustathius (who on Prov. ix. 5 had said, *διὰ τοῦ οἴνου καὶ τοῦ ἄρτου ἀντίτυπα τῶν σωματικῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ κηρύγγει μελῶν*) and Basil (who ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ τῆς θείας ἀναφορᾶς used these words, *θαρροῦντες προσεγγίζομεν τῷ ἀγίῳ θυσιαστηρίῳ, καὶ προσθέντες τὰ ἀντίτυπα τοῦ ἀγίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σον*). They contend that in the case of Basil the context makes clear that his meaning is—that the elements are called antitypes before their consecration, but that afterwards they are called (and are, and are believed to be) simply the body and blood of Christ (*μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἀγιασμὸν σῶμα κυρίως καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ λέγονται*, Mansi, tom. xiii., c. 265).

It is believed that Damascenus had died in the interval

between the Council of Constantinople and this second council of Nicæa. But it is obvious to remark how his assertion concerning the use of the term *antitypes* is reproduced by the Fathers of the latter Council.

We have assuredly here a strange curiosity of Christian literature. It is strange, indeed, that two Councils, separated by so short an interval of time, should have left on record such different views of the Eucharistic service: that the first should, apparently without doubt or question, have regarded the elements as a figure or type, or image of Christ's Body and Blood; and that the second should have repudiated such an idea, and pronounced the language which speaks of the consecrated bread and wine as *antitypes* to be a contradiction to the faith and language and the tradition of the whole Christian Church. It seems almost as if the Council summoned by Irene would fain have anticipated the action of De Villiers, and set its mark of *dicit hæreticus* against the doctrine maintained by the Council summoned by Copronymus. But in so doing it would certainly, like De Villiers, have made heretics of more than it meant, and of more than it could have dared thus to brand for denunciation.

Was the assertion of Damascenus¹ true—was the contention of the Council defensible, that none of the earlier Fathers of the Church has named the consecrated elements the *antitypes* of the Body and Blood of Christ? A marginal note by the Greek scholiast stands to correct the error of the Council (and therein, also, of Damascenus); allows that it was *not true*; declares that after consecration the holy gifts are *often* called *antitypes*.

In a treatise on inductive logic, the argument of the Council might well be stated as a remarkable instance of inductive fallacy. Two or three examples are cited in support of the Council's contention that the consecrated elements are not spoken of as an image, and the conclusion is drawn

¹ Waterland justly observes (vol. v., p. 198): "Had he said just the reverse, viz., that the Fathers had never so called them *before* consecration, but *always after*, he had come much nearer the truth."

as incontrovertible (*οὐκοῦν σαφῶς ἀποδέδεικται*) that *nowhere*, by Apostles or Fathers, are they ever so designated; that any Fathers who used the term *antitypes* meant it only as applicable to the unconsecrated oblation.

The fallacy may easily be shown. It has been abundantly exposed. The mistake is now acknowledged by all. The misstatement is not defended by Romish controversialists.

But the reader may be glad to see a few examples of the use of the term *antitypes*, which was denied by the Council:

Τὴν προσφορὰν τελέσαντες ἐκκαλοῦμεν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον, ὅπως ἀποφίνη τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην καὶ τὸν ἄρτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τὸ ἀἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν ΑΝΤΙΤΥΠΩΝ, τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν καὶ τῆς ζωῆς αἰωνίου τύχωσιν (Irenæus, "Fragm.," Op. ed. Migne, c. 1253; No. xxxvii.).

This is one of the Pfaffian fragments, which since the loss of the Turin MS. cannot be verified. But the remarkable agreement with the liturgy of the Apostolical Constitutions, as pointed out by Canon Heurtley ("Sermons on Recent Controversy," pp. 53, 54), leaves little doubt as to its being a genuine Patristic writing. The reader will observe that here the elements are spoken of as antitypes during their reception by the communicants.

Τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ λογικοῦ ἡμῶν θυσιαστηρίου ἐπιτελούμενα ἀγιάζει τὴν τράπεζαν, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ σκεύη, ΑΝΤΙΤΥΠΑ γὰρ εἰσὶ τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματος (Origen, as quoted by Julius Cæsar Bulenger, "Diatribe contra Casaubonum," iii., p. 166).

Here the reader should mark how the table and vessels are said to be sanctified by the antitypes of the Lord's Body, which could only be after they had themselves been consecrated.

These examples are selected from many others as abundantly sufficing to disprove the assertion of the Nicene Council (see "Eucharistic Worship," pp. 287-292). To estimate their importance as bearing on the doctrine of the Eucharist, they should be viewed in connection with another assertion of this Council, to the effect that if the sacrament

is an image of the Body of Christ, it is not possible to be the Divine Body itself. [Εἰ εἰκὼν τοῦ σώματος ἔστι, οὐκ ἐνδέχεται εἶναι αὐτὸν τὸ θεῖον σῶμα (Labbæus, tom. vii., c. 449).] In this saying, the Council is only echoing the voices of many other witnesses (see "Eucharistic Worship," pp. 298, 299).

So then we have the Constantinopolitan Council regarding the Eucharistic bread as an image (figure or sign) of the Body of Christ, and therein following the examples of a multitude of earlier Fathers of the Church, Western as well as Eastern. And then a generation later we have the Nicene Council pronouncing such views to come of the delirium of madness, denying the truth that the Fathers had used such language aforetime, and affirming that such expressions cannot be reconciled with what they maintain to be the only truth of the Eucharist, that it is the very Body and Blood of Christ.

Here then, at first sight, we seem to have the same conflict of doctrines as that which we observed between the views of Augustin on the one side, holding the figurative sense of our Lord's words of eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood, and those of De Villiers and the modern Romish controversialists on the other side, rejecting such figurative interpretations of the words which speak of the Lord's Body and Blood in the Eucharist, and condemning as heretics all who deny the oral manducation of the very Body and Blood themselves.

But we should greatly err if we should hastily assume that the two cases are parallel because they appear so similar.

Of these two Councils we can scarcely perhaps identify the views of the first with those of Augustin. And the views of the second must be clearly seen to be very far removed from those of the Council of Trent.

(1) First, as regards its Constantinopolitan doctrine. Notwithstanding its use of the word *image* (which it uses to exclude all other images or icons), this synod uses language which, in its natural sense, would seem to teach a supernatural change wrought by consecration in the elements

themselves, *extra usum*—the Holy Ghost so coming upon them as to constitute a miracle corresponding (in some sense) with the mystery of our Blessed Lord's Incarnation, and making the true image to be also (in some sense) the Divine Body (*θεῖον σῶμα*).¹

It may perhaps appear doubtful to some whether St. Augustin's teaching does not sometimes seem to go beyond the meaning which our Reformers meant to be conveyed by the language which speaks of the elements as "effectual signs," and truly "exhibitive" of that which they signify.² But it is doubted whether in Augustin's language any example can be found to show that Eucharistic doctrine had ever in his teaching approached the point which it seems to have attained in the teaching of the Council of Constantinople in 754.

(2) But it is far more certain and far more demonstrable that the teaching of the Nicene Council was something quite distinct from the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation and the real Presence. And this distinction needs to be emphasized by those who would view aright the stages of progress by which in ages of ever-increasing corruption the doctrine of the Eucharist attained at length to its full growth of superstition and idolatry.

¹ It may be questioned whether the doctrine of the Constantinopolitan Synod has not been somewhat minimized by Waterland (Works, vol. v., p. 201 *sqq.*). But his view of the meaning of its language is supported by the following quotation, which he makes from the Emperor Copronymus, as it has been preserved by Nicephorus, who was Patriarch of Constantinople from 800 to 815. 'Εκέλευσεν τοῖς ἀγίοις μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις, παραδοῦναι δι' οὐ ἡράσθη πράγματος τύπον εἰς σῶμα αὐτοῦ, ἵνα διὰ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἀναγωγῆς, κανεὶς εἰς μετοχῆς καὶ θέσει γίνηται, λαβωμεν αὐτὸν, ὡς κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς σῶμα αὐτοῦ. (In Notis ad Damascen, tom. i., p. 354.) For the sense of *κυρίως* he refers to "Albertinus de Euch.," p. 461; and "Claude," Part II., p. 76.—As to the use of the term "Deification," see "Albertinus," p. 914; and Robertson's "History of the Christian Church," vol. iii., p. 236.

² Sayings, however, of Augustin and others, which, in their ambiguities may have a doubtful sound, may fairly claim a favourable interpretation to bring them into harmony with statements, more distinct and decisive, made elsewhere.—See "Eucharistic Worship," pp. 317, 318.

It has not, perhaps, been sufficiently recognised how widely the thought of the Eastern Church was influenced by the doctrine, or something like the doctrine, which has sometimes been designated by the name of the "Augmentation" doctrine. We have seen the Nicene Council following in the wake of the great doctor of the East, Joannes Damascenus. Nowhere, we believe, is to be found a clearer statement of the Augmentation doctrine than in his writings. The reader may be referred again to his treatise "De fide Orthodoxa," lib. iv., cap. xiii. There he will see how the author, comparing the mystery of the Eucharist with the mystery of the Incarnation, insists that the bread and wine are changed into the Divine Body and Blood (*μεταποιοῦνται εἰς σῶμα καὶ αἷμα θεοῦ*). This he regards as the result of the supervention of the Holy Ghost effecting that which surpasses human conception (*Πνεῦμα ἀγίου ἐπιφοιτᾷ, καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖ τὰ ὑπὲρ λόγον καὶ ἔννοιαν*). He deprecates investigations as to the mode (*ό δὲ τρόπος ἀνεξερεύνητος*); but ventures on this much of explanation: that as bread which is eaten, and wine and water which are drunk, are changed (*μεταβάλλονται*) into the body and blood of him who eats and drinks, and becomes not another body different from the body which he had before; so the bread and wine, by the invocation and supervention of the Holy Ghost (*διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἀγίου Πνεύματος*), are supernaturally changed (*ὑπερφυῶς μεταποιοῦνται*) into the Body and Blood of Christ, not making two bodies, but one and the same Body (*καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ δύο, ἀλλ' ἕν, καὶ τὸ αὐτό*).¹

¹ Much more to the same effect might be quoted from the Greek Fathers. Some form of this doctrine, or some approximation to it, appears to have very widely extended itself in the East. It would be out of place to argue the point here. But much evidence to this effect will be found in Claude's "Catholic Doctrine of the Eucharist," Part I., book iii., ch. xiii., pp. 227-239. So far as the Eastern doctrine (which mainly insists on the virtue and efficacy of the Body and Blood of Christ, see Claude, Part I., pp. 223-228, and Waterland's Works, vol. v., p. 190 *sqq.*) took any definite form, it seems generally to have assumed something of this shape—the same similitudes and very much the same forms of expression frequently recurring, and the teaching of Damascenus

The language of Damascenus here is very instructive. To the reader who studies it carefully two observations occur almost inevitably. *First*, the reader can hardly fail to observe how a remarkable similarity of language is paving the way for a farther advance of superstition, making easy the approaches to the full doctrine of the Council of Trent. And *secondly*, he cannot help noting how, notwithstanding this, the idea of Damascenus is entirely separate and distinct from that of the subsequent stages of doctrinal advance.

There is nothing here to be compared to the teaching of the same Body being at the same time in more places than one. Superstition has not yet come near to the point—the writer seems rather to regard as inaccessible and impossible to be contemplated the position—on which violence is to be done to the simplest intuitions of common-sense by teaching faith to believe that, at the same moment, the same Body of Christ is in heaven at God's right hand, and on ten thousand separate altars on earth. With Damascenus, indeed, the bread is changed, and made into one and the same Body; not, however, by any Real Corporal Presence of Christ's Body in the form of the bread, but by the bread being added and incorporated (through the operation of the Spirit) into the one Body of Christ by way of augmentation or increase, as a mere human body incorporates into itself its natural food and sustenance. The idea conveyed is certainly not the idea conveyed by Romish doctrine. The two ideas may clothe themselves in language almost identical, yet they are separate one from another *toto caelo*.

And this distinction explains what Rabanus Maurus in the

ranking among them as oracular. (See Claude, Part I., Book III., ch. xiii., pp. 221-340.) It may be that in some cases the view may have amounted to a conception of the hypostatical Union of Bread with the Divine Logos. But it is believed that very generally it may have fallen short of this. (See Claude, p. 238.) And, perhaps, it may be open to question whether those who used the language of *adoption*, *assumption*, *augmentation*, etc., would have been prepared to follow up their teachings to their logical conclusions.

next century is supposed to have written to Egilus when attempts were being made to put the wine of a *new* doctrine into the old bottles of this earlier language. He regards the Paschasian doctrine as a thing unheard of. He says (if Mabillon is right in thinking that he has recovered his letter in an anonymous MS. See "Romish Mass and English Church," p. 66), " *Illud in hoc libro mihi prius fateor inauditum reperiri sub nomine sancti Ambrosii, quod non sit hæc alia caro Christi, quam quæ nata est de Maria, et passa in Cruce, et resurrexit de sepulchro.*" (See Op. Rabani Mauri, edit. Migne, tom. vi., c. 1513.)

But the Augmentation doctrine must not be supposed to be a peculiarity of Damascenus.¹ We believe that some sort of indefinite approaches to it were early made in the Eastern Church. And something more or less cognate to it seems afterwards to have prevailed very widely. Moreover, in the Western Church also, it largely made its influence to be felt.² After reading the language of Damascenus it is

¹ After the time of Damascenus the same or similar views seem to have exercised considerable influence also in the West. Notwithstanding Dr. Pusey's argument to the contrary ("Real Presence from the Fathers," pp. 5-9), the language of Rupertus Tuitiensis can hardly be understood in any other sense than as supporting some similar form of doctrine. But Rupert was by no means alone among the Westerns in propounding this doctrine. See "Romish Mass and English Church," p. 62.

² Waterland says, "Before the end of the ninth century the *Eastern* innovations, introduced by Anastasius and Damascen, and established by the Nicene Council, spread wide and far, both among Greeks and Latins" (Works, vol. v., p. 204). "The old notion of a *sacrament*, as importing a *sign* and a *thing signified*, wore off apace; and now all the care was, how to make out that *very body and blood*, by some subtile evasions, or newly devised theories." (*Ibid.*)

These theories Waterland regards as reducible perhaps to *five*: 1. The elements literally becoming the same *personal Body* [Anastasius, Damascen and the Nicene Fathers]. 2. The elements containing the same body [Paschasius?]. 3. The elements becoming *another personal Body* [Rupertus Tuitiensis? Odo Cameracensis?]. 4. The elements containing another personal Body [Ratramn?]. 5. The elements being or containing a *true and proper Body of Christ*, distinct and different from a *personal Body* [Remigius of Auxerre, Pseudo-Alcuin, "De Divinis Officiis"]. See "Eucharistic Worship," pp. 294, 295 and 297.

obviously impossible to argue that the language of the second Nicene Council indicates the doctrine now held by the Church of Rome. The language of the Council is to be read in the light, not of subsequent developments of Eucharistic doctrine, but of what we gather of earlier and contemporary Christian thought on the subject.

It is probable, at least, that the language of the Council is intended to convey a meaning similar to that of Damascenus. The form of doctrine which he upheld may have admitted certain not inconsiderable varieties of phase, and may have found expression in slightly varying terms. The Constantinopolitan Council held that the *εἰκὼν* was the Lord's Body, *θέση*, which has been translated sometimes by the Latin *adoptione* (Mansi, tom. xiii., c. 263), sometimes by *positione* (*ibid.*, c. 679). Perhaps the best English rendering would be, "by appointment or institution." And though this language is ridiculed by the Nicene Council (Mansi, tom. xiii., c. 265), and though it conveys an idea which falls far short of *augmentation*, it may possibly have been intended to indicate a doctrine diverging indeed from that which was held by the Fathers of that Council, yet not so far removed from it as at first sight may have appeared.

Every form of this doctrine which thus speaks of the elements as the very Body and Blood of Christ, regarding

These all (except No. 2) seem to be slightly varying modifications of the same general view, according to which the language of the earlier Fathers is to be rejected, and the consecrated elements are to be regarded (not as *signs*, or *figures*, or *antitypes* of the Body and Blood, but) as the very Body and Blood of Christ, in virtue of their being, in some way, spiritually united to the person of the Logos, or to the Body of Christ.

It is scarcely needful to say that this view is quite distinct, and indeed very far removed, from that of the Real Presence of Romish or Lutheran doctrine.

When sayings of the Fathers are adduced, which *sound like* the Real Objective Presence, and seem to present difficulties which cannot be solved by the interpretative *dicta* of Augustin and others, it will be found, if we mistake not, that they can, for the most part, be easily understood as expressing or implying some (perhaps very indefinite) form of, or some approximation to, this view.

them as made so to be, whether (1) by appointment or adoption, into union with the true Body of Christ, or (2) by way of augmentation and incorporation into His Body, attributing this change to the advent and supervention of the Holy Ghost, should be viewed in connection with the Eastern doctrine of the consecration, which attributes the change (not as the Western) to the words of institution, but to the invocation of the Holy Spirit. This is an interesting subject but one which space will not permit us to dwell upon.

But this augmentation doctrine should also, and especially, be viewed in connection with the teaching of our own incorporation, by the operation of the one Spirit into the one mystical Body of Christ.¹ Does it not seem to rest on the mistaken assumption that, as the medium of our spiritual participation of Christ, the sacrament must first itself be all that it can make us, by its reception, to be?² that if, by being partakers of the one bread (1 Cor. x. 17), we are made to be partakers of the one Body, the bread itself must first be converted into that Body, and be made Divine by the indwelling of the Spirit, even as the receivers are Divinely united to the living Christ and made to drink into one Spirit?

This is a mistake, and a mistake which (like other forms of Eucharistic error) arises from a forgetfulness of the truth,

¹ The Fathers frequently set side by side, and in connection one with another, the two sayings (1) that the Sacrament is the Body of Christ; (2) that the Church is the Body of Christ. See examples in "Eucharistic Worship," pp. 317-329. But they recognised also the truth that by Baptism we are incorporated into the Body of Christ and this (notwithstanding later superstitions of the East) without the water being made to be the Body and Blood of Christ. Leo's saying, "Ut corpus regenerati fiat caro Crucifixi" (De Pass. Dom. Serm. xiv. In Heptas. Praesulum, p. 62) is but the expression of a truth universally recognised.

² See especially the language of Nicholas of Methone, "De Corpore et Sanguine D." in Migne's P. G., tom. cxxxv., c. 512, language which in part is borrowed from Chrysostom. See also "Eucharistic Worship," p. 317 *sqq.*

that in the Eucharist we have to do primarily and immediately and directly with the atonement of the death of Christ, with His Body and Blood as given for us, and separate in death for our sins, and that our spiritual union with the glorified Christ is that which *follows upon* our communion and partaking of the sacrifice of the death of Christ.

And our history has shown us how, when this mistaken notion has taken hold of men's minds, it tends to repel and reject the language which, in earlier and purer times, regarded the consecrated elements as *antitypes*, and spoke of them as images, figures and signs of the Body and Blood of Christ. Thus it is that this first step in departure from the teaching of Scripture was preparing the way for the incoming of Paschasian and then of Tridentine doctrine.

And may we not see here also how needful it was that our Reformation should take us back to the earlier and purer teaching, to the doctrine which did not hesitate to call the elements *figures* and *antitypes*?¹ And may we not see also how needful it is for us, if we would uphold the truth taught by our English Reformation, that we should earnestly contend for the doctrine which bids us to regard the elements

¹ It is interesting and instructive to compare the faith of the Syrian Christians of Malabar as represented by the Romanists at the Synod of Diamper, A.D. 1599. It appears to have been alleged against them: "They held that the true Body of our Lord is not in the holy sacrament of the altar but only a figure thereof, that the Holy Eucharist is only the image of Christ, and is distinguished from Him as an image is distinguished from a true man; that the body of our Lord Jesus Christ is not there nor anywhere else but in heaven, at the right hand of the Father; that under the element of bread is only the body of Christ without Blood, and under the element of wine the Blood without the Body, and that in this sacrament there is only the virtue of Christ but not His Body and Blood. Further, the priest seemed to call on the Holy Ghost to come down from heaven to consecrate the elements, 'whereas in truth it is the priest that does it, though not in his own words, but in the words of Christ.'" (Rae's "Syrian Church in India," p. 236.) Again, "The Syrians lacked 'the healthful use of pictures'; they maintained that images are filthy and abominable idols, and ought not to be adored" (*ibid.*, p. 238).

as *effectual signs*, signs, indeed, truly effectual for the real communion of the Body and Blood of Christ to the exceeding comfort and health of our souls, but still *signs*—*signs* which, though rightly bearing the names of those things of which they are effectual conveyances, cannot possibly be themselves the signs and things signified? True faith does no violence to sanctified reason and intelligent common-sense. And sanctified common-sense, rejecting many statements of the Nicene Council, willingly accepts from it this one *dictum* : *Εἰ εἴκων τοῦ σώματος ἔστι, οὐκ ἐνδέχεται εἶναι αὐτὸ τὸ θεῖον σῶμα.*

No. III.

PART I.—HISTORICAL.

THERE are some singular “ curiosities ” to be found in the “ Decretum ” of Gratian, which was long regarded as the backbone of the Western Canon Law. But few of these will compare for curiosity with the following :—

Ego, Berengarius . . . ore et corde profiteor de sacramentis dominicæ mensæ eandem fidem me tenere, quam dominus et venerabilis papa Nicolaus et hæc sancta synodus auctoritate evangelica et apostolica tenendam tradidit mihi firmavit, scilicet panem et vinum quæ in altari ponuntur post consecrationem non solum sacramentum sed etiam verum corpus et sanguinem domini nostri Jesu Christi esse : et sensualiter, non solum sacramentum sed in veritate manibus sacerdotum tractari et frangi et fidelium dentibus atteri ; jurans per sanctam et homousiam Trinitatem et per hæc sacrosancta Christi evangelia.—(“ Decret.,” pars iii., “ De Consecr.,” dist. ii., can. xli., p. 1274 ; edit. Venice, 1567.)

By the side of this stands the gloss :¹

¹ The gloss was written by John Semeca, or Zemeke (known also as Joannes Teutonicus), in the thirteenth century. See Allix, *Præf. to “ Determinatio Joannis Parisiensis,”* p. 22, who quotes similar language from Herveus and Richardus de Media Villa, and adds: “ Sic loquuntur illi haud advertentes formulam fuisse a Nicolao Secundo Berengario præscriptum . . . atque adeo non Berengarium, sed Concilium Romanum condemnare se, cum hanc formulam exsibilant ” (p. 23, London, 1686).

Semeca was Provost of St. Stephen, of Halberstadt. He died in 1267, according to Du Pin, “ *Eccl. Hist.*,” vol. xi., p. 74; London, 1699. His *Glossa Ordinaria* is said to have been written in 1215, and completed by Bartholomew Brixensis about 1236. See Tardif, “ *Histoire des Sources du Droit Canonique,*” pp. 186, 319, 320.

Nisi sane intelligas verba Berengarii, in majorem incides hæresim, quam ipse fuerit. Et ideo omnia referas ad species ipsas.

The student of history will not fail to recognise in this the confession of faith which was extorted from Berengarius at the Council of Rome, under Pope Nicholas II.

It was unquestionably formulated for the very purpose of expressing most distinctly and unequivocally what at that date (1059) was regarded by the bishops present as the orthodox doctrine of the Eucharist in the Church of Rome. Drawn up by a Roman Cardinal, its language, we must believe, was carefully chosen, that in its natural sense it might clearly define that doctrine, and fence it off from all heretical misinterpretation. Yet the gloss bears witness that, from the standpoint of what was regarded as the orthodox doctrine at a later date, the language of this confession in its natural sense was viewed as dangerous in the extreme; and that except as this natural sense was explained—*i.e.* reduced to an unnatural sense, or explained away—it was seen to teach a more grievous heresy than that of Berengarius himself, whose (so-called) heresy it was intended to exclude and condemn. “Thus,” says Bishop Jewel, “these fathers, by their own friend’s confession, redress the less error by the greater; and in plain words in general council, by solemn way of recantation, profess a greater heresy than by their own judgment ever was defended by Berengarius.” (“Works,” vol. i., p. 459, P.S. edit.)

This is assuredly a *curious* example of the growing, and therefore changeful, character of Roman orthodoxy—of the varying phases through which the doctrine of the Eucharist in its development had to pass. But in order to estimate this example aright it is important to regard it in connection with the history which surrounds it. It is only thus that the most striking points of this “curiosity” come into view.

The discovery by Lessing of the lost treatise of Berengarius, in the library of Wolfenbüttel—his reply to Lanfranc

—if it has done nothing to raise our estimate of his character or his theology, has certainly enabled us to form a truer estimate of the doctrine which Berengarius taught concerning the Supper of our Lord. It is no longer possible to suppose that he was justly accused of a desire to reduce the Holy Sacrament to bare and ineffectual signs of a grace not present, or of a Saviour really absent. He vehemently opposed a gross materialism, but he strongly upheld a spiritual and effectual presence to the soul of the Christian. The superstitious notions which, especially since the time of Paschasius, had been leavening the Church, and gradually corrupting the faith, laying hold on men's minds, and spreading their influence far and wide—these were the object of his attack. The doctrine which had been taught by Joannes Scotus Erigena, and which is probably identical with that which we know as contained in the treatise ascribed to Ratramnus¹ or Bertram of Corbie—this was that which he seems to have maintained as the truth ; and he maintained it by appealing to the writings of the Fathers, rightly contending that, in this matter, novelty of doctrine belonged, not to himself but to his opponents.

We are not concerned to uphold the Christian courage or consistency of Berengarius, nor to maintain in all things his perfect theological accuracy, though there can be little doubt that his conduct has been misrepresented, and his doctrine misunderstood.²

¹ See Hagenbach's "Hist. of Doctrines," vol. ii., p. 91 ; Clark.

Some have maintained that Scotus was the author of the book ; but Claude contends for the authorship of Ratram, while also urging that it will only have greater weight if written by Scotus ("Catholic Doctrine of Euch.," pp. 277 *sqq.* ; London, 1684). On this question see Gieseler ("Eccles. Hist.," vol. ii., pp. 288, 289; Clark), who also holds that Ratram was the author. See also D'Achery's "Spicilegium," vol. iii., p. 852 ; and especially Robertson, "Hist. of Christian Church," vol. iii., p. 348.

² He is commended by Platina, in the life of Pope Joan XV., who says: "Fuisse in pretio hâc tempestate constat et Odilonem abbatem Cluniensem et Berengarium Turonensem, viros sanctitate et doctrina insignes." But this commendation is, of course, qualified in respect of

But in view of this declaration, which thus became part of the Roman Canon Law, we must first touch very briefly on the previous course of this remarkable man, whose life has made an epoch in the history of Latin Christianity, and specially in the evolution of the Eucharistic doctrine of the Papacy.

Berengar's name has always been associated with the town of Tours. Here he was born about the year 1000 A.D. Here was the famous theological school which was spoken of throughout the world. Of this school Berengar became the master in 1031, having previously studied theology under the celebrated Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres, whose writings, as we have seen, have been so strangely manipulated by De Villiers.

Afterwards (in 1039) he became Archdeacon of Angers.

As a professed disciple of Erigena, he soon found himself an object of suspicion, and shortly afterwards of opposition. In 1049 he wrote a letter to Lanfranc—afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury—but at that time the master of the then ignoble monastic school of Bec. The letter was written his Eucharistic doctrine. See other testimonies in Ussher's "Works," vol. ii., pp. 215, 216.

A remarkable eulogium on his character, said to be written by Fulbert, or Hildebert of Le Mans, may be seen in Hospinian's "Works," vol. iii., p. 284. It is taken from William of Malmesbury. It could hardly have been written by Hildebert, *if* the tractate, "De Sacramento Altaris," published in the volume of his works by Beaugendre (c. 1103 *sqq.*; Paris, 1708), be really his.

Archbishop Trench's unfavourable estimate ("Mediæval Ch. Hist.," p. 189 *sqq.*) appears to rest very much on the notion that he taught *two* doctrines on the Eucharist (p. 191). And this seems founded on the opinion that the teaching of a trope must be inconsistent with the doctrine of a real communion of the body and blood of Christ—a mistake, as we think, too commonly made, and one which would tend to the condemnation of the great divines of the Reformed Church of England, not less than of Berengar. Bishop Cosin truly says: "Nequaquam igitur hâc suâ doctrinâ Christi Corpus e sacramento exclusit, sed sacramentum in legitimo ejus usu cum re sacramenti conjunxit; et Corpus Christi, non ore et modo carnali, sed spiritu, mente, et animâ, manducari docuit" ("Hist. Transubstantiationis," cap. vii., § 6).

in a style of somewhat condescending superiority, reproaching Lanfranc for maintaining the doctrine of Paschasius, and declaring that the doctrine of Scotus is that which had been taught by Ambrose, Augustin, and Jerome.¹

In 1050, in a synod held at Rome—it is questionable how far through the interposition of Lanfranc—Berengar's letter to Lanfranc was read, in consequence of which he was excommunicated and summoned to appear at another Synod to be held at Vercelli in September. At this synod Berengar, in his absence (for he had been imprisoned by King Henry I.),² was again condemned, and the book of Scotus was committed to the flames. The next year he appears to have been again condemned in two councils, one at Brionne, and the other at Paris. In 1054, he was summoned to a council to be held at Tours under Hildebrand (afterwards Pope Gregory VII.) as papal legate. But Hildebrand left hastily for Rome, in consequence of the illness of the Pope (Leo IX.), and the proceedings were abortive. Then followed the brief pontificates of Victor II. and Stephen IX. To Stephen succeeded Nicholas II.,³ under whom another synod was held at Rome, where Berengar appeared, relying probably on the favour of Hildebrand. At this synod Berengar succumbed to the force of the opposition. Here it was that he signed the declaration "Ego Berengarius." It was drawn up by Cardinal Humbert. And "Berengar" (to use the words of Canon Robertson) "overpowered (as he tells us)

¹ See "Mansi," tom. xix., c. 768.

² See "De Sacra Coenâ," p. 42; Berlin, 1834.

³ For Benedict X. is not accounted a true Pope. Platina says: "Legitimus Pontifex non fuit, cum simonice per vim, et metum contra canones, et juramenta Pontificatum occupaverit." In the same council which condemned Berengarius it was decreed that such a Pope was to be regarded as "non Apostolicus, sed Apostaticus."

Probably Pope Nicholas was in some measure influenced by Berengar "Henricus Knightonus" ("Chron.," lib. ii., cap. 3), "Leicestrensis Monachus, Berengarium 'fere Nicolaum papam corrupisse' asserit." (Archbishop Ussher, "De Christ. Eccles. Succ. et Statu," c. vii., § 30; "Works," vol. ii., p. 221.)

by the fear of death, and by the tumult of his opponents, took the document into his hands, prostrated himself in token of submission, and cast his own writings into the fire" ("Hist. of Christian Ch.," vol. iv., p. 361).

Our object in this summary of the earlier period of Berengar's history is to show the change which had come over the views of Western Christendom in the space of two centuries. The teaching of Paschasius in the ninth century had called forth strong opposition and condemnation from prominent men and able divines in various parts of the world. It was felt to be a novelty.¹ And the novelty was felt to be doing violence to the spiritual instincts of the Christian Church. But now the tide has turned. And the gross materialistic view of the Lord's Supper, as expressed in the confession imposed on Berengarius, has evidently taken hold of the popular mind, and has the support of very many, even of the leading men, and the learned men—the men who stand forth as the defenders of the faith and the upholders of orthodoxy.²

¹ See Edgar's "Variations of Popery," p. 371; and Claude's "Catholic Doctrine of the Eucharist," Book VI., chaps. viii.-xi.; and especially Gieseler, "Eccles. Hist.," vol. ii., p. 289; Clark.

² It should be noted, however, that in the Synod of Arras, in 1025, Bishop Gerard had insisted (while upholding views akin to those of Paschasius) that "hæc gratia non consumitur morsibus *nec dentibus teritur*, sed interioris hominis palato, hoc est, ratione et intellectu percipitur" ("Mansi," tom. xix., c. 432). Compare Augustin, "In Johan. Ev. Tract.," xxvii., § 3, Op., tom. iii., par. ii., c. 502; edit. Ben., 1680.

It would be a great injustice to Lanfranc to suppose that he was only a patron of the materialistic view of the Eucharist. He taught doctrine to which De Villiers would fain have prefixed his "dicet haereticus." Thus he wrote to a Bishop in Ireland: "Fidelis quisque, Divini mysterii per intelligentiam capax, carnem Christi et sanguinem non solum ore corporis sed etiam amore et suavitate cordis comedat et bibat; videlicet amando et in conscientiâ purâ dulce habendo, quod pro salute nostrâ Christus carnem assumpsit, peperdit, resurrexit, ascendit, et imitando vestigia Ejus et communicando passionibus Ipsius . . . Hoc est enim vere et salubriter carnem Christi comedere, et sanguinem Ejus bibere" ("Ep." xxxiii., p. 232, Op.; Venice, 1745). Compare the following: "Corporali . . . ore corporaliter manducamus et bibimus . . . Spirituali

But we turn now to the subsequent period of Berengar's life, and we shall see what clear evidence it affords, that even still the doctrine of his opponents—though now in the ascendancy—was far from having yet attained the position of a fixed and unquestionable dogma of the faith.

On his return to his own country, Berengar returned also to his own opinions, and to his diligence in propagating them. He was attacked by Lanfranc in his treatise "De corpore et sanguine Domini." It was in answer to this that Berengar wrote his work "De Sacra Cœnâ adversus Lanfrancum liber posterior," which is the treatise discovered by Lessing. In this he declares that on his side of the controversy stood very many of every rank and dignity.¹

We may pass over the pontificate of Alexander II., who took no measures against him beyond a friendly exhortation to forsake his errors. We may pass over also the Council of Poictiers, in 1075, from which it is said that he hardly escaped with his life. But we must not pass over the Council of Rome in 1078. Hildebrand, now Gregory VII., would

vero ore cordis spiritualiter comeditur et hauritur, quando suaviter et utiliter, ut dicit beatus Augustinus, in memoriâ reconditur quod unigenitus Dei Filius pro salute mundi carnem accepit" ("De Corp. et Sang. Dom.", c. xvii., Op., p. 179).

It may be added that many who firmly maintained the corporal presence held it as subservient to spiritual manducation. See "Eucharistic Worship," pp. 331, 332; and "Lectures on the Lord's Supper," p. 45 *sqq.*

¹ Thus Berengar writes to Lanfranc: "Contra conscientiam tuam dicis, quam latere non potest, quam plurimos vel pene infinitos esse cujuscunque ordinis et dignitatis, qui tuum de sacrificio ecclesiæ execrentur errorem atque Paschasi Corbeiensis monachi" ("De Sacra Cœnâ," p. 54; Berlin, 1834).

"Nec solus tum Berengarius hanc orthodoxæ vetustatis sententiam defensitavit. Constat enim ex Sigiberto, Gul. Malmesburiensi, Matth. Parisio, et Matth. Westmonasteriensi, 'omnes' fere hujus temporis, 'Gallos, Italos, et Anglos' eidem sententiæ adhæsisse" (Cosin, "Hist. Transubstantiationis," c. vii., § 6).

See also the testimony of Zacharias Chrysopolitanus; and of Rupertus Tuitiensis, as cited in Ussher's "Works," vol. ii., pp. 211, 212, 217, 218; "De Christ. Eccles. Succ. et Statu," c. vii., §§ 19, 20, 26, 27.

very gladly have bidden the sword of the Berengarian controversy "put up itself into its scabbard, rest, and be quiet." But it was not to be. Neither Berengar nor his opponents had the least intention of yielding to Papal dissuasives. His adversaries required that he should undergo the ordeal of hot iron. And here comes in the most remarkable and the most instructive episode of this very curious and instructive history.

In spite of all that may have been argued to the contrary, it seems to be almost certainly established that the Pope himself, and that Pope a very Saul among Popes (albeit an earnest Reformer, according to his own views), was, to say the least, rather disposed to favour the views of Berengarius than those of his opponents. But beyond this, we are assured upon evidence which, as it seems to us, cannot easily be set aside, that the Pope, seeking special guidance from above by means of the devotions of a saintly monk, who was desired specially to invoke for this purpose the aid and guidance of the blessed Virgin Mary, had a special revelation vouchsafed to him, by which he was instructed that there was nothing in the teaching of Berengarius which conflicted with the inspired Scriptures and that beyond the teaching of the Scriptures on the subject, nothing ought to be insisted on.

Let the reader to whom these things are new stand aghast ! The doctrine of Berengar shielded by a Pope—and that Pope the imperious Hildebrand ! The doctrine of Berengar supported by a revelation from heaven ! The doctrine of Berengar defended as Scriptural by the Exalted Virgin ! And the infallible head and doctor of the Church instructed by a heavenly vision to require no faith in the Mass, but the faith of the Scriptures as taught by Berengar of Tours !

The reader may well be pardoned for being incredulous. But his incredulity must vanish as he reads these words addressed by Gregory to Berengar : "Ego plane te de Christi sacrificio secundum Scripturas bene sentire non dubito, tamen quia consuetudinis mihi est, ad B. Mariam de his, quæ me movent, recurrere, ante aliquot dies imposui religioso cuidam amico jejuniis et orationibus operam dare,

atque ita a B. Maria obtinere, ut per eum mihi non taceret quorsum me de negotio, quod in manibus habebam de Christi sacrificio, reciperem, in quo immotus persisterem. Religiosus vir a B. Maria audivit, nihil de sacrificio Christi cogitandum, nihil esse tenendum nisi quod haberent authenticæ Scripturæ, contra quas Berengarius nihil habebat.”¹ (See Gieseler, “Ecc. Hist.,” vol. ii., p. 409; edit. Clark; and Neander, “Ch. Hist.,” vol. vi., p. 331; edit. Clark.)

No wonder Pope Gregory had to bear the reproaches of those who regarded themselves as the champions of the true faith. No wonder that the synod of Brixen denounced him as nothing less than a heresiarch. No wonder that voices were heard above a whisper, declaring the Pope to be infidel. Hear the words of one, “Jejunium indixit Cardinalibus, ut Deus ostenderet, quis rectius sentiret de corpore Domini, Romanane Ecclesia an Berengarius—dubius in fide, infidelis est”² (Benno in “Goldast,” p. 3). Hear the mourning of another, “En verus pontifex et verus sacerdos qui dubitat, si illud quod sumitur in dominicâ mensa, sit verum corpus et sanguis Christi” (Egilbert, in Eccard, “C. H. Medii Ævi,” ii., 170. See Milman’s “Latin Christianity,” vol. iv., p. 119).

Well has Dean Milman written concerning this Council at Rome in 1078 :

The conduct of Gregory at this council, his treatment of the great heresiarch, is in the strangest contrast with that of his imperial antagonist. Hildebrand, on all questions of Church

¹ It should be well noted that Berengar solemnly declares that these words were spoken to him by Hildebrand: “Audiente Portuensi Episcopo.” See “Mansi,” tom. xix., c. 765.

² Cardinal Benno was no friend of Hildebrand, and some of his accusations may have a doubtful origin; but there is every reason to believe that this assertion has a foundation in truth.

Hildebrand had his enemies. A synod of thirty bishops condemned him as “an old disciple of the heretic Berengar” (Martene et Durand, “Thes. Anec.,” iv., p. 103. See Milman’s “Latin Christianity,” vol. iv., p. 124).

power so prompt, decisive, instantaneous in his determinations, so impatient of opposition, so merciless to a foe within his power, so pertinacious to crush out the last words of submission where he feels his superiority, so utterly, it should seem conscientiously, remorseless, when the most remote danger can be apprehended or warded off from the vast fabric of the theocracy, from the universal, all-embracing, as he hoped, eternal ecclesiastical dominion—is now another man. Compare Gregory VII. in the condemnation of investitures, and Gregory in defence of transubstantiation ; Gregory with King Henry at Canossa, and with Berengar at Tours or at Rome. Hildebrand, it might also seem for the first time, on this cardinal doctrine is vacillatory, hesitating, doubtful. He will recur to the blessed Virgin to enlighten him, and the blessed Virgin appears to acquit Berengar of any dangerous heresy. He even bears the clamour of the populace. He lays himself open to the bitter taunts which he must well have known that his enemies would seize every opportunity to heap upon him to protect Berengar from an unjust or too rigorous sentence. He dismisses the heresiarch, it might seem, uncondemned, or even with honour. Berengar, already censured by former Popes, bears with him in triumph recommendatory letters from Gregory VII. Berengar dies in peace, in full possession of his ecclesiastical dignities. Was it that from the first the bold logical mind of Berengar at Tours had cast a spell upon Hildebrand ? Was it a calm, stern sense of justice, which believed, and dared to assert, that Berengar's opinions had been misrepresented by his blind or malignant enemies ? Was it that he was caught in the skilful web of Berengar's dialectics ? Was his sagacity at fault for once ? and was his keen foresight obtuse to the inevitable consequence which the finer instinctive dread of the greater part of the religious world felt to its very heart, that from the doctrine of transubstantiation, in its hardest, most material form, once defined, once avowed, once established by the decrees of Popes and councils, there was no retreat without shaking the sacerdotal power to its base, that bolder men would inevitably either advance on Berengar's opinions, or teach undisguised that which Berengar concealed under specious phraseology ? The priest's power, as it was afterwards intrepidly stated, of making God, the miracles which became, or had become, so common, to prove, not the spiritual, but the grosser material transmutation, fell away at once, and with it how much of sacerdotal authority, sacerdotal wealth, sacerdotal dominion ! Some

might suppose of true and humble reverence for the mystery of the Eucharist! With the whole religion, now and for some centuries become materialism more or less refined, how perilous spiritualism in its holiest, most august rite! Gregory can hardly have supposed that by mildness, moderation, candour, he could propitiate to silence or to inactivity the busy, vain heresiarch. Be it as it may, Gregory had to bear—and he can hardly but have foreseen that he should have to bear—the reproach that he himself doubted the real presence of the body and blood of the Redeemer in the Sacrament,¹—that he was an infidel.—(“Latin Christianity,” book vii., chap. iii., vol. iv., pp. 116-119; London, 1867.)

By Baronius, of course, these reproaches are regarded as nothing but vile calumny.² (See Ann. 1079, §§ 4, 5, 6, tom. xvii., p. 454; Paris, 1869.) But it is scarcely possible for the impartial historian not to recognise them as having a foundation in fact.³ “Every circumstance,” says Mr. Greenwood, “attending these conferences shows that the Pope had conceived a great regard for Berengar, and that he was solicitous to protect him against the violence of his adversaries. Up to the end of his residence at Rome, Gregory treated him with distinguished kindness, and dismissed him with an autograph safe-conduct in the amplest and most cordial terms, threatening all persons who should molest him on his homeward journey, or thereafter presume to call him

¹ So the Council of Brixen, in the Tyrol (A.D. 1080), condemns Gregory as “Catholicam et apostolicam fidem de corpore et sanguine Domini in quæstionem ponentem, hæretici Berengarii antiquum discipulum” (“Mansi,” tom. xx., c. 548, 550). On the history and character of this synod of thirty bishops, see Milman’s “Latin Christianity,” book vii., chap. iii., vol. iv., pp. 123-125. Milman notes (p. 124): “This charge no doubt arose from his acceptance of the ambiguous confession from Berengar; and no doubt much was made of the declaration which Berengar asserted him to have made, that he had received a special message from the Virgin Mary, testifying that the doctrine of Berengar was consonant with the Scriptures.”

² Du Pin also speaks of them as “groundless and unjust” (“Ecc. Hist.,” vol. ix., p. 11; London, 1698).

³ See especially Mosheim, “Ecc. Hist.,” vol. ii., p. 359, note; edit. Soames, 1845.

heretic, with the anathema of the Church.¹ He sent with him a chamberlain of his own household to signify the favour of the Holy See, and wrote to the Archbishop of Tours, the Bishop of Angers, and the Earl Fulk of Anjou, to insure him against all further molestation on the score of his opinions."² ("Cathedra Petri," book ix., ch. v., pp. 136, 137.)

We need not dwell on the remainder of Berengar's history. But it should be added that, at this Council at Rome in 1078, under Gregory VII., he signed another confession, which, though it satisfied Gregory, was too ambiguous to satisfy his opponents.³ In the following year, therefore, he submitted to sign another confession, acknowledging that the elements are *substantially*⁴ changed into the Real Body and Blood of

¹ The language of Hildebrand in this safe-conduct should be well noted. It will be found in D'Achery's "Spicilegium" (tom. iii., p. 413): "Literæ commendatitiae Gregorii VII. datæ Berengario post concilium Romanum. Gregorius Servus Servorum Dei, Omnibus beato Petro fidelibus salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Notum vobis omnibus facimus nos anathema fecisse ex Auctoritate Dei Omnipotentis Patris, et Fili, et Spiritus Sancti, et, beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, omnibus qui injuriam aliquam facere præsumserint Berengario Romanæ Ecclesiæ filio, vel in persona, vel in omni possessione suâ, vel qui eum vocabit hæreticum; quem post multas quas apud nos, quantas voluimus fecit moras, domum suam remittimus, et cum eo fidelem nostrum Fulconem nomine."

² It must, however, be remembered that the Pope's commendatory letters were written (as Du Pin observes) after Berengar's confession of *substantial change*.

³ Of the confession of 1078, it has been said: "The doctrinal exposition of Pope Gregory and the Roman council would have satisfied any of the reformed denominations. . . . Mabillon acknowledges the Berengarian creed's ambiguity and insufficiency. The contemporary patrons of the corporal presence held the same opinion as Mabillon, and insisted on the substitution of an unequivocal and explicit confession, and the insertion of the epithet 'substantial.' This accordingly was effected next year" (Edgar, "Variations of Popery," p. 7).

⁴ See Canon Robertson, "Hist. of Christian Church," vol. iv., p. 367. This confession was probably (as Canon Jenkins supposes) exacted by the Pope to clear himself of the suspicion of heresy, and to enable him to throw over Berengarius the shield of his protection. See CHURCHMAN, October, 1892, p. 19. Berengar's apology for himself in the matter

Christ, which, though very different from the "Ego Berengarius" of 1059, appears to have satisfied the opposite party. He appeared again in 1080 before a Council at Bordeaux, and died near Tours in 1088. He is reported by some to have died in the "Catholic" faith,¹ but according to his contemporary Bernold, he persevered in his opinions to the last. (See Robertson's "History of Christian Church," vol. iv., p. 368, and Gieseler, "Ecc. Hist.," vol. ii., p. 411.) His memory, we are told, was reverenced in the district of Tours, and there was, down to late times, a yearly solemnity at his tomb. (*Ibid.*)

PART II.—DOCTRINAL.

But it is time for us now to revert to the terms of the famous recantation, "Ego Berengarius." In view of the history before us, it is important to submit them to a careful consideration as interpretative of the words of institution.

of this confession may be seen in "Mansi" (tom. xix., c. 763 *sqq.*). He soon recalled it. At the time of this confession Berengar must have been nearly eighty years of age. The synod of Brixen, which elected the Antipope Guibert, and which formulated the charge of Berengarianism against Gregory, was subsequent to this; but that imputation had no doubt found expression much earlier.

Allix quotes from a MS. work on St. Matthew, which is attributed to Gregory, the following: "Quis fit illa conversio, an formalis an substantialis quæri solet? Quod autem formalis non sit, manifestum est; quia forma panis et vini remanet. Utrum vero sit substantialis, perspicuum non est. . . . Nos autem incerta relinquentes, quod ex auctoritatibus certum est profitemur, scilicet substantiam panis et vini in substantiam Corporis et Sanguinis converti, modum vero conversionis ignorare non erubescimus fateri" (Præf. to "Determinatio Joannis Parisiensis," p. 7). Compare Lombard, "Sent.," dist. xi.: "Si autem quæritur qualis sit illa conversio, an formalis, an substantialis, vel alterius generis: definire non sufficio. Formalem tamen non esse cognosco."

When his end drew near Gregory declared his faith as to the Eucharist, "probably," says Canon Robertson, "with a view of clearing himself from the suspicions of Berengarianism, which his enemies had industriously cast on him" ("Hist. of Christian Church," vol. iv., p. 344).

¹ See Du Pin, "Eccles. Hist.," vol. ix., p. 11; London, 1698.

In doing this, indeed, there may be something repugnant to the feelings of reverential awe with which we would desire to come to the contemplation of what pertains to "these holy mysteries." But we desire to do this with a full sense of the sacredness of the subject, and with as little as possible of what may arouse feelings of bitterness in those who differ from us and under a strong conviction that the cause of God's truth demands of English Churchmen at the present time to be outspoken on the matter of this burning controversy.

We must observe, then, that the language of this confession, monstrous and revolting as it is felt and acknowledged to be, nay, heretical as (in its natural sense) it is now regarded even in the Romish Communion, expresses really nothing more than is actually contained in the very words which were used by our blessed Lord Himself—if it be so, that those words must be understood exactly¹ *ut verba sonant* in a sense excluding everything of trope, or figure, or metaphor; or, in other words, if our Lord's saying is not to be regarded as a *locutio sacramentalis*, a saying, that is, in which the sign bears the name of the thing signified and conveyed by it.

We, of course, maintain that the words of the institution are to be tropically and sacramentally understood—that, in view of the occasion and the surroundings, such an interpretation was natural and obvious, that no other could have been admitted without doing violence to common-sense.²

¹ So Thomas Waldensis says of the confession of Berengarius: "Intendebat ergo ecclesia tunc sic credere sicut dixit, nihil plus, nihil minus, sicut et Christus dicens, *Hoc est Corpus meum*" ("De Sacr. Euch.," cap. xlii., f. 73; Venice, 1571).

² Bishop Pearson has well said: "We must not so stand upon the propriety of speech, when it is written, 'The word was made flesh,' as to destroy the propriety both of the *word* and of the *flesh*" (On Creed, art. iii.). It is an argument which must be acknowledged to be forcible, even by Romanists. But we may apply the same argument to the words of institution, and say: "We must not so far stand upon the propriety of speech, when it is written, 'This is My Body,' as to destroy the pro-

And we appeal in confirmation of this view to the teaching of the Fathers of the early centuries of the Christian Church, as showing that they were so understood by Christians of old time.

It can scarcely be needful to say that this sacramental or tropical sense was held and taught by the great divines of the English Church.¹ But it should be added, for the priety both of the *bread* and of the *body*." (See Turton's Reply to Wiseman, p. 274.)

"Certain it is," writes Bishop Cosin, "that the bread is not the body of Christ any otherwise than as the cup is the New Testament, and the different consequences cannot be drawn from these two not different expressions. Therefore, as the cup cannot be the New Testament but by a sacramental figure, no more can the bread be the body of Christ but in the same sense" ("Hist. of Transubstantiation," ch. v., § 4).

See Wyclif, "De Eucharistiâ," p. 97.

¹ The following extract might be adduced as evidence to show how the doctrine of Berengar corresponded to the doctrine of the Reformed: "Cum dicit Dominus de pane illo, quem primo in privilegium promovit, illud ut esset Corpus Ipsius: hoc, *i.e.*, hæc res, hic panis est meum Corpus non est locutus proprio, quia nec panis ille individuus, quem in eam prævixerat dignitatem, ut digne sumptus valeret ad animæ salutem, susceptibilis erat prædicati individui illius Corporis, quod sibi in utero virginis Dei sapientia fabricavit; et ita subjectus terminus, quod est panis, propria perpendendus est locutione, tropicâ prædicatus terminus, quod est in propositione: meum Corpus" ("De Sacra Cœnâ," pp. 83, 84; Berlin, 1834). And this must clearly determine the interpretation of what he says of the "conversion" in p. 57. He regards "conversion" as admitting a variety of senses—"Est enim multiplex et vera conversio" (p. 57).

Berengar's sense of "conversio" may be illustrated by the following extract: "Ceterum mutationi in placatum irati similis erat mutatio panis in corpus Christi, quia inefficax erat panis natura ante consecrationem ad vitam æternam, post consecrationem efficax, quia, sicut ad æternitatem amissam in Adam nemo proficeret, nisi verbum caro fieret, ita nemo Christianus ad immortalitatem redit, si per contemptum profanat sacramenta altaris, et quod dicitur panis altaris corpus Christi, eo locutionis dicitur genere, quo dicitur: Christus est summus angularis lapis" (*ibid.*, p. 145. See also pp. 161 *sqq.*). This is the more to be observed, because (though Berengar was considered a heretic by Luther) others, including Mabillon, and Martene, and Durand, think that he held the *præsentia realis*, only denying transubstantiation. (See Gieseler, "Eccl. Hist.," vol. ii., p. 411.)

sake of correcting a too common misapprehension, that nothing was further from their intention than the idea of denying or questioning that the elements are effectual signs for conveying to the faith of the receiver the things which they signify, and whose names they bear in the delivery. There was no questioning among them of the truth that the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.

We have seen how earlier attempts to exclude the tropical or sacramental sense seem to have recognised the truth that the words could not (without doing violence to common-sense) be understood to the full *ut verba sonant*, and accordingly interpreted them as meaning something like this: "This bread is adopted by Me, to be incorporated into My flesh, and thus by augmentation to form a part of My body."¹

But ages of ever-growing superstition had followed; and the rust of this superstition had now so far eaten into the faith of the Christian Church that men had been taught to think that religion triumphs in the overthrow of common-sense.² And rejecting altogether the augmentation doctrine, the new doctors would interpret the words of institution *ut verba sonant* to the full, maintaining that the consecrated bread is bread no more, but either the whole body of Christ, or a *portiuncula*³ of that body, the *appearance* of bread alone

It was truly said: "Qui hodie sunt Calvinistæ, olim dicti fuerunt Berengariani." (Serarius, "Trihæres," lib. i., cap. v., quoted by Abp. Ussher, "De Christ. Eccles. Succ. et Statu," cap. vii., § 23; "Works," vol. ii., p. 214. See also p. 215.)

¹ See "Curiosities," No. ii.

² "Quo hic ratio infirmior, eo fides fortior. Quo ratio hic minus vel nihil operatur, eo fides plus vel totum operans amplius meretur. Libenter igitur ratio hic succumbat, ut fidei meritum accrescat" (Hildeberti, *Opera*, c. 1106; Paris, 1708). See "Lectures on Lord's Supper," pp. 31-33.

³ The expression "portiuncula carnis" is so frequently repeated by Berengarius as the language of Lanfranc that it seems scarcely possible to doubt that it had been used by him. (See "De Sacrâ Cœnâ," pp. 45, 84, 114, 119, 127, 158, 171, 174, 175, 195, 197, 200, 209; Berlin, 1834.) But it is

remaining, that faith may gain victory over the evidence of the senses.

Darkness was covering the earth. But it was surely scarcely possible that, even in dark ages, the human understanding could submit, with no effort of rebellion, to the nowhere to be found, we believe, in his "Liber de Corpore et Sanguine Domini."

The fact that the exceeding difficulties connected with the idea of "totum corpus" seem sometimes to have constrained literalists of Berengar's time to understand, or to acquiesce in the understanding, the "Hoc est Corpus Meum" of a "portiuncula carnis," shows clearly how far the new and now dominant doctrine was from having yet attained to its full development. The notion of the Real Presence of Christ—"Body, Soul, and Divinity"—*there (supralocally)* on the altar under the form of bread and wine had hardly yet come to the birth. It was to be the outcome of a further growth of superstition. (See "De Sacra Cœnâ," pp. 148, 197-199; Berlin, 1834.) Faith had hardly yet been so universally blinded as to believe in the Real Presence of Christ's Human Body and of Christ Himself at the same time on thousands of altars. The witness had not yet died out to the truth that it is "against the truth of Christ's natural Body to be at the same time in more places than one." (See "De Sacra Cœnâ," pp. 198, 199.)

The position of Lanfranc is thus represented by Berengar: "Confingis enim, non superesesse in altari panem sensualem, sed portiunculam carnis factæ de pane; hujus portiunculæ carnis colorem, vel, ut verba tua ponam, *visibilem speciem, non ipsum subjectum*, sed quod in subjecta ea sit, sacramentum esse constituis in prioribus tractatus tui, qui tamen ipse in posterioribus ejusdem tractatus asseris, *non esse sacramentum colorem vel speciem portiunculæ carnis*, quæ sit portiunculæ consecrationem in altari, *sed ipsam portiunculam*, i.e., *non quod in ea subjecta sit, sed eam quæ subjectum sit esse sacramentum totius Corporis*, quod in *caelo est, Christi*, eamque ipsam manibus frangi, dentibus atteri. Sed recordissimum erat, quod de Christi Corpore esse non neges, non negare etiam frangi vel atteri" ("De Sacra Cœnâ," p. 45; Berlin, 1834). And see especially p. 197, where he says, "Non enim totum Christi corpus tu adesse sensualiter in altari desipis."

It is to be noted that the miraculous manifestations alleged to have been seen upon the altar (and which are so seriously treated of by Lombard) were sometimes as of the whole body of a child (or of a lamb), sometimes as of a *portiuncula* of a body, as "pars digiti auricularis sanguine cruentata." (See "Mansi," tom. xix., c. 434, 435; and Bishop Jeremy Taylor, "Real Presence," sect. x., § 8; "Works," vol. vi., pp. 93,

domination of such a monstrous and novel doctrine¹ as was now being set up as an idol in the Church of Christ. Berengar was the head of the rebellion; and he withstood the dominant party of innovation by going back, not to the doctrine of Damascenus and the first upholders of literalism,

94, edit. Eden.; and Canon Robertson, "Hist. of Christian Church," vol. iv., p. 364; and especially Morton on "Eucharist," book iv., ch. ii., §§ 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, p. 217 *sqq.*; and Ussher's "Works," vol. iii., p. 76 *sqq.*; see also Scudamore's "Notitia Eucharistica," pp. 611, 968, 2nd edit.)

A Romish divine has said of these manifestations that they "are mere fables, suggested by the father of lies." (See Archbishop Wake in Gibson's "Preservative," vol. x., p. 17, London, 1848; and Alex. Alens., as quoted in Cosin's "Hist. Transub.," cap. vii., § 24, p. 131, A. C. L.; and Wyclif, "De Eucharistiā," p. 20.)

In 1687 was published in London (translated from the French) a book full of the most extraordinary stories, entitled "The School of the Eucharist, established upon the miraculous respects and acknowledgments, which beasts, birds, and insects, upon several occasions, have rendered to the Holy Sacrament of the altar, by F. Toussain Bridoul, of the Society of Jesus." See also Cosin's "Hist. of Transub.," ch. vii., § 22; and Bellarmine, "De Sacr. Euch.," lib. iii., cap. viii.; "De Controv.," tom. iii., c. 703, 704.

Of one such wonderful story we are told by Wyclif: "Postquam narrator iste ex narratione et populi devotione fuit ad partem a quodam familiari socio commendatus, confessus est mendacium hoc turpe: *Os finxit inquit hoc pulchrum mendacium*" ("De Eucharistiā," p. 20; Wyclif Soc.).

These strange stories well suited the doctrine taught by Paschasius and Lanfranc, but they were scarcely in harmony with the teaching of Damascenus and the earlier literalists. And they are quite repugnant to the view of this Sacrament as taught by Augustin, for he gives as an example of transitory signs, "Sicut panis ad hoc factus in accipiendo sacramento consumitur." And then he adds concerning such signs: "Quia haec hominibus nota sunt, quia per homines fiant, honorem tamquam religiosa possunt habere, stuporem tamquam mira non possunt" ("De Trin.," lib. iii., cap. x., §§ 19, 20; Op., tom. viii., c. 803, ed. Ben., Paris, 1688. See also § 21, c. 804).

¹ If we may believe the evidence of competent witnesses, this doctrine was so regarded by its able champion, Cardinal du Perron, who, on his death-bed, declared that in maintaining it he had been defending an ill cause, and expressed, as his own opinion of transubstantiation, "that it was a monster." See Archbishop Wake on Gibson's "Preservative," vol. x., p. 9; see also Cosin's "Hist. Trans.," ch. vii., § 22.

but to the earlier doctrine of the Fathers, shielding himself under their authority, and insisting on the figurative and tropical sense,¹ as giving the only true interpretation of the words of our blessed Lord. Certainly Berengar clearly understood the meaning of a *locutio sacramentalis*, and ably maintained that in that term was contained the true key to the interpretation of the words of institution. Accordingly, the recantation extorted by the dominant party from Berengarius was simply the full and distinct expression of the most literal interpretation of our Lord's words. If what is figurative and tropical is to be rigidly excluded—if the idea of a *sacramentalis locutio* is to be condemned, then (the subtleties of the scholastic philosophy—whatever approaches²

¹ See "De Sacra Cœnâ," pp. 37, 38, 43, 75, 76, 77, 83, 84, 86, 119, 125 *sqq.*; Berlin, 1834.

² Algerus, *e.g.*, maintains: "Sicut Deus in omnibus est mirabilis, sit et in ipsis. Facit enim in suo Sacramento accidentales qualitates existere per se, quod in cæteris est impossibile. . . . Quid mirum si sine substantiæ fundamento facit qualitates existere?" ("De Veritate Corporis Dom.," lib. ii., f. 66; edit. D. Erasmus, Friburg Brisg., 1530).

And somewhat later, Anselm (sometimes regarded as the first of the Schoolmen) wrote: "Quare autem Corpus Christi cum sit inviolabile et incorruptibile, qua ratione hoc esse potest ut dentibus atteratur, et etiam a foricibus corrodatur. Sed secundum definitiones sanctorum Patrum est intelligendum panem super altare positum per illa solemnia verba in Corpus Christi mutari, nec remanere substantiam panis et vini, speciem tamen intelligendum est remanere, formam scilicet, colorem et saporem: secundum speciem remanentem quædam ibi fiunt quæ nullomodo secundum hoc quod est possunt fieri, scilicet quod atteritur, quod uno loco concluditur, et a foricibus roditur, et in ventrem trajicitur" (Epist. cvii.; Op., p. 453; Paris, 1721).

Wyclif's interpretation of similar words quoted from Anselm will be found in his "De Eucharistiâ," p. 130.

Somewhat later, Hugo de Sancto Victore wrote: "Per verba sanctificationis vera panis et vini substantia in verum Corpus Christi et sanguinem convertitur, solâ specie panis et vini remanente, et substantia in substantiam transeunte. Conversio autem ipsa non secundum unionem sed secundum transitionem credenda est" ("De Sacramentis," lib. ii., pars viii., cap. ix.).

For Wyclif's comment on this, see "De Eucharistiâ," p. 75 (Wyclif Soc.).

may have been made to them—having not yet been generally applied to the doctrine of transubstantiation) the confession, “Ego Berengarius,” with all the grossness of its materialistic conceptions, is nothing but an expansion of the true and only sense of the words which were spoken by our Lord. They are nothing more than an explanatory periphrasis of the words, “Take, eat, this is My Body.” If that which is seen, given, and taken by the hand and eaten by the mouth be indeed not sacramentally, but really the Body of Christ, then is that Body ground with the teeth in the mouth of the communicant.

We ask to have this well considered. We desire to have it very carefully examined.

And then we wish our readers to see this quite clearly, that the contention between Berengar and his opponents turns altogether on the question whether the words of institution are to be understood figuratively or literally.

Berengar maintains—and his position is well understood—that the true interpretation is figurative, tropical, sacramental. That this was his contention is implied in the very words of his recantation.

The Council insists that nothing is tropical—that the true interpretation is only and wholly literal. When we have this—the true *status controversiæ* of that day—before us, then and not till then are we in a position to estimate the full significance of the historical facts which we have been contemplating. When we have seen clearly the true point at issue between the contending parties, we can hardly fail

Hildebertus Turonensis also asks (if the treatise “De Sacramento Altaris” is really his): “Numquid ei [rationi] capabile est qualiter substantia panis et vini in substantiam corporis et sanguinis Domini conversa, non tamen conversa sunt pariter, sed manent immutata, sine panis et sine vini substantia, tam panis, quam vini accidentia? Quomodo accidentia sine subjecto, vel hæc accidentia in quo nata sint sine subjecto? Via in istis est ignota rationi, sed non penitus ignota fidei” (Op., c. 1106; Paris, 1708).

These all were before the “Master of the Sentences,” and were doubtless preparing the way for the subtle distinctions of scholasticism.

to see the importance of the fact that Hildebrand expressed his approval (in some sort) of Berengar's tropical, figurative interpretation; and that, according to the testimony of Pope Gregory VII., the Blessed Virgin herself, by a revelation from heaven, condemned the novelties of the literalist doctrine—condemned them as making an addition to faith, an addition to be rejected as having no warrant in the sacred Scriptures of truth.

We cannot be surprised if at first sight this should seem to some to be an overstatement of the case, and a scarcely credible account of the attitude of the Pope towards one whom Papists must regard as among the chief of heresiarchs.

But, while we do not wish to imply that Hildebrand's own views were necessarily identical with those of Berengar, we hold it impossible to doubt that the Pope must have known well what the doctrine of Berengar really was when he showed himself desirous of securing something like toleration for the man whom he so highly esteemed, in spite of the clamour which called him a heretic.

And we submit that this curiosity of mediæval literature cannot be fairly studied without seeing another example of the way in which the Romish doctrine of the Eucharist has been consolidated by accretions—the result of men's thoughts, thinking to make perfect what in the Divine revelation was imperfect, and developing doctrines which are a human addition to the faith once for all delivered unto the saints.

The gloss has yet to be accounted for. It need not detain us long. It belongs to the expression of a later development of Eucharistic doctrine. After the fourth Lateran Council of 1215, in which Innocent III. decreed the doctrine of transubstantiation, the novel views grew rapidly, and quickly bore fruit—fruit which surely would have shocked the piety of Christians of old time. *They* had never dreamt of the elevation of the Host for purposes of adoration. *They* had never thought of carrying about the Host on high as a present Deity. *They* had known no festival of *Corpus Christi*. How could they, since they spoke of the consecrated elements

as the figures, and signs, and antitypes of the Lord's Body and Blood?

But the ages of the higher scholastic theology followed on, and scholasticism has been designated "the knighthood of theology." This was a period, in some sense, of intellectual activity, but of activity which strangely submitted (for the most part) to be restrained by the iron fences of canon law. As the result, we have to contemplate some curious anomalies. The scholastic doctors—speaking generally—do not seem to have stumbled at the teaching of Christ's human Body being at the same time on ten thousand earthly altars,¹

¹ Very surprising is the following argument of T. Aquinas: "Manifestum est, quod Corpus Christi non incipit esse in hoc sacramento per motum localem. Primo quidem, quia sequeretur quod desineret esse in *cœlo*: non enim quod localiter movetur, pervenit de novo ad aliquem locum, nisi deserat priorem. Secundo, quia omne corpus localiter motum pertransit omnia media: quod hic dici non potest. Tertio, quia impossibile est quod unus motus ejusdem Corporis localiter moti terminetur simul ad diversa loca: cum tamen in pluribus locis Corpus Christi sub hoc sacramento simul esse incipiat; et ideo relinquitur, quod non possit aliter Corpus Christi incipere esse de novo in hoc sacramento, nisi per conversionem substantiæ panis in ipsum" ("Summa," quæs. lxxv., art. ii., pars iii., vol. ii., p. 205; Lugd., 1663. See also p. 207, and quæs. lxxxiii., art. v.). Here is recognised an impossibility in the nature of things. But the impossibility is not in the being of One Body at the same time in heaven and on many altars on earth, but only in this being brought about "per motum localem." As if it were easier to believe its being brought about by transubstantiation than by motion! Compare the teaching of the Tridentine Catechism, pars ii., cap. iv., § 37.

So Bonaventura has before him the objection: "Corpus Christi in *cœlo* existens, habet ibi terminum suæ substantiæ: ergo impossibile est quod sit secundum veritatem in hoc sacramento: ergo si est ibi, est solum in signo." And thus he answers it: "Quamvis Corpus Christi terminum habeat in *cœlo* quantum ad existentiam naturalem, non tamen habet quantum ad potestatem conversionis, secundum quam alibi potest Corpus converti in ipsum: et ideo illa virtute supernaturali fit alibi, quâ aliud convertitur in ipsum" (Bonaventura, "In Sent.," lib. iv., dist. x., pars i., art. i., quæs. i.; Op., tom. v., p. 105; Lugd., 1668).

Again: "Si queratur ratio, quare Corpus Christi est in plurimis locis, credo quod hæc sit ratio, quia plura convertuntur in ipsum totum, et pluribus locis" (quæs. iii., p. 100; see also p. 114).

and at the same time on God's right hand in heaven, though they seem to have understood this in a sense which

Again, in answer to the objection: "Corpus Christi . . . est in pluribus [locis] per miraculum: Ergo similiter per miraculum potest incorruptibile frangi," he answers: "Non est simile de esse in pluribus locis, quia ibi nulla est contradicatio: hic autem sic" (dist. xii., quæs. i., pars i., art. ii., p. 143).

Very surprising also is the efficacy which some of the Schoolmen seem to have attributed to the word "sacramentaliter." Sayings which in themselves they might have allowed to be impossible and inconceivable become, in their view, credible and conceivable if only understood *sacramentally*. It seems almost as if, because difficulties may be easily removed by understanding language *sacramentaliter* in the sense of *in signo tantum*, the same effect might be produced by the same word understood in a sense inclusive of *in veritate rei*. The following may be taken as an example: "Ad illud quod objicitur, quod est ibi localiter, dicendum quod aliquid dicitur ibi esse localiter, aut quia est secundum corporalem præsentiam, aut secundum commensurationem Corpori debitam. Primo modo est ibi localiter, secundo modo non, immo tantum in cœlo: unde Innocentius distinguit esse localiter contra esse sacramentaliter" (Bonaventura, "In Sent.," lib. iv., dist. x., pars i., art. i., quæs. iv.; Op., tom. v., p. 111). Compare the Council of Trent, sess. xiii., ch. i.

But Nicolaus de Niise concludes: "Posset Corpus Christi esse in pluribus locis non solum sacramentaliter, sed etiam localiter, patet ex dictis" (Tract. VI., pars iii.; "De Euch.," quæs. ii.; "Resol. Theol.," f. 497; Paris, 1574). And of the objection he rightly declares: "Æque concludit contra esse sacramentaliter, sicut contra esse localiter" (*ibid.*). He says: "Plura tempora non possunt esse simul, sic autem non de locis" (*ibid.* See Thomas Waldensis, "De Sacr. Euch.," f. 123).

And in this view he was followed by Bellarmine. See Bellarmine, "De Euch.," lib. i., ch. ii.; "De Controv.," tom. iii., c. 459; Ingold., 1601.

Well was it said by Bishop Jeremy Taylor: "Aquinas hath yet another device to make all whole, saying that one body cannot be in divers places *localiter* but *sacramentaliter*, not locally but sacramentally. But first I wish the words were sense, and that I could tell the meaning of being in a place locally and not locally, unless a thing can be in a place and not in a place, that is, so as to be in that it is also out: but so long as it is a distinction, it is no matter—it will amuse and make way to escape, if it will do nothing else. But if by being sacramentally in many places is meant figuratively (as before I explicated it), then I grant Aquinas's affirmative; Christ's Body is in many places sacramentally, that is, it is represented upon all the holy tables or altars in the Christian

it is not always easy to apprehend or to realize, and though they can hardly have been ignorant that such teaching was

Church. But if by sacramentally he means naturally and properly, then he contradicts himself, for that is it he must mean by *localiter* if he means anything at all. But it matters not what he means, for it is sufficient to me that he only says it and proves it not, and that it is not sense; and, lastly, that Bellarmine confutes it as not being home enough to his purpose, but a direct destruction of the fancy of transubstantiation; *Si non posset esse unum Corpus localiter in duobus locis, quia divideretur a seipso, profecto nec esse possit sacramentaliter eadem ratione.* I might make advantage of this contestation between two so great patrons of transubstantiation if I did need it, for Aquinas says that a body cannot be in two places at once locally, Bellarmine says then neither can it be sacramentally; it were easy, then, to infer that therefore it is in two places no way in the world." ("Real Presence," sect. xi., § 21; "Works," edit. Eden., vol. vi., pp. 111, 112. See also p. 109; and Bramhall's "Works," A. C. L., vol. i., pp. 18, 19; and Crakanthorpe, "Defens. Eccles. Angl.," pp. 285-287, A. C. L.)

Compare the words of the Tridentine decree: "Neque enim hæc inter se pugnant, ut ipse Salvator noster semper ad dextram Patris in cœlis assideat, juxta modum existendi naturalem; et ut multis nihilominus aliis in locis sacramentaliter præsens sua substantiæ nobis adsit" (sess. xiii., cap. i.)—words in which, according to the history of Pallavicini, "abstинere Synodus voluit eā quæstione, quæ inter Aquinatis et Scotti sectatores agitatur, utrum idem Corpus divinitus possit pluribus in locis eo collocationis modo, quo in uno per naturam est, collocari" (lib. xii., cap. vi., pars ii., p. 116). Observe also the expression, "Sacramentaliter ac realiter," in canon viii., sess. xiii.

"Modus existendi *sacramentalis*, et tamen simul verus et realis, non poterat melius explicari, quam illo adverbio *substantialiter*" (Bellarmine, "De Sacr. Euch.," lib. i., cap. ii.).

It may be added, however, that in Wyclif's time there seems to have been a prevalent suspicion that the writings of Aquinas had been largely tampered with by the *pseudo-fratres*, who, for filthy lucre's sake, desired to be inquisitors of heresy. (See "De Eucharistiâ," cap. v., p. 139, Wyclif Soc.) Wyclif himself understands the "Sacramentaliter" of Aquinas (pp. 232, 233) in a sense which he can himself approve (p. 268), adding: "Patet de Corpore Christi, quod est dimensionaliter in cœlo et virtualiter in hostia ut in signo" (p. 271).

And this view he sets in contrast with that of Duns Scotus (the Doctor Subtilis): "Ponens quod stat idem Corpus in numero multiplicari dimensionaliter simul tempore per quotlibet loca non communicantia" (p. 232; see also p. 149).

But it may be doubted whether Wyclif rightly apprehended the full

utterly irreconcilable with some very clear and distinct statements of the ancient Fathers. They do not seem to have

teaching of Aquinas on this point. See the language of Aquinas in pars iii., quæs. lxxv., art. i.: "Dicendum, quod Corpus Christi non est eo modo in hoc sacramento, sicut Corpus in loco, quod suis dimensionibus loco commensuratur: sed quodam speciali modo, qui est proprius huic sacramento. Unde dicimus, quod Corpus Christi est in diversis altaribus non sicut in diversis locis, sed sicut in sacramento. Per quod non intelligimus, quod Christus sit ibi *solum sicut in signo*, licet sacramentum sit in genere signi: sed intelligimus Corpus Christi hic esse secundum modum *proprium huic sacramento*." See Bellarmine, "De Euch.," lib. i., ch. ii.; "De Controv.," tom. iii., c. 460; Ingold., 1601.

For Wyclif's own view of "Sacramental Presence," see "De Eucharistiâ," pp. 83-87, 98, 104, 109, 111, 121, 123, 308, and especially p. 148. It is sometimes somewhat ambiguously expressed, and his language needs to be interpreted or cleared from misapprehension by such distinct utterances as the following: "Infinita sunt argumenta propter que dicit katholicus quod Corpus Christi est ibi virtualiter et in signo, non Corpus Christi ut est in celo, sed signum ejus vicarium" ("De Eucharistiâ," p. 303, Wyclif Soc.). This is the expression of a very different notion from that of Aquinas, and of one in agreement with that of Jeremy Taylor.

It should be observed that the anathema of the Council of Trent lies against those who maintain that the Presence is only "ut in signo, vel figura, aut *virtute*" (sess. xiii., canon i.).

Perhaps the seeming inconsistencies in Wyclif's language may have resulted from a certain indistinctness or hesitancy in his views on the subject. In his "De Apostasia" he speaks of Berengar's doctrine (which possibly he misunderstood; see "De Apostasia," p. 187) as an error to be condemned (pp. 68, 79, Wyclif Soc.). And Professor Lechler has maintained that he "believes and teaches a true and real objective presence" ("John Wyclif," vol. ii., p. 189, Lorimer's translation; see also pp. 186, 187, 202, 203). Yet one who has carefully studied the subject has said: "I think we may come to the conclusion that the Realist Wyclif and the Nominalist Berengarius held objectively the same views on the Eucharist, and only varied in their manner of expounding it" ("Tractatus de Apostasia," Wyclif Soc., Dziewicki's Introduction, pp. 35, 36).

What he says in condemnation of the Docetism of transubstantiation (Lechler, ii., pp. 187, 202, 203) would seem to apply with equal force to Aquinas' view of Real Presence, whether bread remained or not. It is true, indeed, that sometimes his language would seem to be almost an anticipation of Lutheran doctrine. See Lechler, ii., pp. 189, 190, 204.

Yet it is scarcely possible not to see that the difference between the views of Wyclif and Luther was deep and radical. Professor Lechler

felt any difficulty in applying to the glorified Body of the Saviour above what was spoken of the Body as crucified and the Blood as poured out—of the Body and Blood as separated in the condition of death. But that the glorified Body of the Son of God (which was never to be suffered to see corruption) should be subjected to the degradation of lesion¹ and mastication in the mouths of the faithful—this was an

himself has said: “When it is affirmed with emphasis that the Body of Christ in the Supper can only be spiritually seen, received, and enjoyed, but not corporeally, because it is only present spiritually, and when, in consequence, it is only to believers that a real participation of the Body of Christ in the Supper is attributed, while to the unbelieving, on the contrary, such a participation is denied, it is at this point that the difference of Wyclif’s Eucharistic doctrine and Luther’s falls with the strongest light upon the eye” (vol. ii., pp. 194, 195).

We think it clear that Wyclif’s sense of “sacramental” was very different from that of Aquinas (see especially “*De Apostasia*,” p. 189, Wyclif Soc.). The question of participation by unbelievers is *the crucial test* of the Doctrine of the Presence.

Mr. Matthew is quoted as saying: “Neither Lechler nor anyone else can get a satisfactory and clear exposition, for the simple reason that Wyclif did not know what it was, though he thought he knew what it was not” (“*Apostasia*,” Wyclif Soc., Introd., p. xxxvi.). But whatever want of distinctness there may be in Wyclif’s teaching of “what it was,” we do not think there was any doubt at all in his mind as to what it was not. His “Sacramental Presence” was undoubtedly no merely figurative or symbolical presence, no presence of empty signs. It was a virtual and effectual presence—nay, a true Real Presence—to the faith of the soul. If it included (or sometimes seemed to include) more than this, it certainly excluded the “Sacramental Presence” of the Romish doctrine (see especially “*De Apostasia*,” p. 185, Wyclif Soc.).

On the whole subject of this note, see Albertinus, “*De Eucharistiâ*,” lib. i., cap. xxvii.; and Bishop Jewel’s controversy with Harding, art. vi.; “*Works*,” vol. i., pp. 480 *sqq.*, P.S. edit.

¹ See Berengar, “*De Sacrâ Coenâ*,” pp. 118, 200, 201, 206. Guitmundus defends the language of the “Ego Berengarius” by distinguishing between *pressure* and *wounding*, understanding the *atteri* only in the sense of *touching* and *pressing*. He says: “Qui se palpandum et post resurrectionem manibus obtulit, dentes propter immunditiam non vitabit. . . . Tangi namque naturale est carni, lædi autem infirmitatis est. Ita ergo potest Christus et dentibus tangi, ut quacunque pressura dentium jam non valeat lædi” (“*De Veritate Corporis Christi*,” ff. 9, 10; Friburg Brisg., 1529).

idea which was not to be endured. In fact, the later Romish theologians were entirely at one with Berengarius in his repudiation of the natural meaning of the “Ego Berengarius.” The following words of his contain a truth to which *they* would have assented: “Qui affirmat, Corpus Christi vel pro parte, vel pro toto manibus sacerdotum tractari super altare, manibus frangi, dentibus atteri, excepto, quod ad sacramentum pertinet, contra veritatem loquitur et dignitatem doctrinæ Christi; qui affirmat, Corpus Christi, postquam ad dexteram patris sedit, vulnerari non posse, vel frangi, vel atteri, excepto, quod ad sacramentum pertinet, secundum veritatem loquitur” (“De Sacrâ Cœnâ,” p. 289; Berlin, 1834). But this was in distinct opposition to the teaching of Lanfranc (see p. 283; see also pp. 118, 200, 201, 206).

And this teaching had to be maintained side by side with the condemnation of Berengarius and the defence of the literal sense of the words of institution.

In the teaching of this later development of Roman theology, the literal interpretation must still be maintained against Berengarius. A trope or a figure is not to be thought of. But the doctrine of those who condemned Berengarius—the language which they made him utter as expressive of the then orthodox faith—this is now to be condemned as more heretical (in its natural sense) than the doctrine of Berengar himself.¹

We need do no more here than refer to the logical subtleties by which scholastic divines sought to succour and support the theology of mediæval superstition, bidding men to believe in properties from which substance had been

¹ Some later writers, however, still maintained that Christ’s body is present in the Sacrament naturally and sensibly. (See Jewel’s “Works,” vol. i., p. 446, P. S. edit.; and Cranmer on “Lord’s Supper,” pp. 46, 380 *sqq.*)

The Thomists maintained that though the accidents remained without a *substantial* subject, they were not without an *accidental* subject—“quantitati inesse tamquam accidentalis subjecto.” (See Benedict XIV., “De Sacrif. Missæ,” cccxiv.)

withdrawn, in accidents remaining when their subject had ceased to exist.

The question whether or not these accidents (remaining by miracle without a subject) are capable of nourishing was answered by some of the earlier transubstantiationists, and perhaps by the earlier scholastics generally,¹ in the negative;

¹ Dr. Pusey says: "The Schoolmen thought that with the 'change of substance' that power of nourishing ceased" ("Eirenicon," p. 24). But this statement needs qualification. Thomas Aquinas maintains the contrary. He says: "Homo diu sustentari posset, si hostias et vinum consecratum sumeret in magnâ quantitate." And he concludes: "Quod species sacramentales, quamvis non sint substantia, habent tamen virtutem substantiæ" ("Summa," pars iii., vol. ii., quæs. lxxvii., art. vi.).

Nicolaus de Nisus also says distinctly: "Per sumptionem istarum specierum homo nutritur" (Tract. V., pars iii., "De Eucharistia," quæst. x.; "Resol. Theol.," f. 509; Paris, 1574).

And the author of the "Fortalitium Fidei" not only contends for *nourishment*, but argues from 1 Cor. xi.: "Vino etiam inebriari." And he adds: "Mirandum videtur cur negent homines hoc sacramentali cibo posse nutriti; refugientes hoc sacramentum in carnem et sanguinem posse converti." He supposes that the accidents have conferred upon them certain properties of substance (lib. iii., consid. vi., imposs. xvii.). He says also: "Remanent accidentia panis et vini inter quæ sunt qualitates sensibiles" (*ibid.*).

Bonaventura says: "Communior est opinio, quod percipiens sacramentum alitur et nutritur." "Concedendum est, quod recipiens hoc sacramentum alitur, et nutritur, non quia accidentia in substantiam convertantur, sed quia aliquid convertitur in substantiam comedentis, non inquam accidens sed substantia" ("In Sent.," lib. iv., dist. xii., art. ii., quæs. i.; Op., tom. v., p. 139; *Lugduni*, 1668).

Thomas Waldensis (himself an Essex man) relates: "In parte Aquilonari Angliæ, dicta Norfolchia, revera opulentissima rerum et spiritualium et temporalium, jam tarde superstes erat devota quædam in Christo puella, dicta vulgariter Joanna Metles, id est, sine cibo: quia nunquam cibum gustasse, vel potum per tempus annorum 15 experta est: sed solo sacramento dominici Corporis diebus dominicis cum devotissimæ mentis gaudio vescebatur" ("De Sacr. Euch.," cap. lxii., f. 105; *Venice*, 1571). His conjecture as to the way in which qualities may nourish without a subject is very curious (*ibid.*).

Gaspar Contarini likewise wrote: "Ex hoc sequitur nullam substantiam subjectam esse illis accidentibus. Verum animadvertendum est non esse eandem rationem omnium illorum accidentium, nam quantitas procul-dubio subjectum est figuræ albedinis, saporis, odoris, omniumque aliorum,

but by the Tridentine Catechism (it would appear) in the affirmative (pars ii., cap. iv., § xxxviii.). And this difference

quippe, quæ substantiæ inesse non queunt, nisi media quantitate, in hisce igitur nullum est mirum: sed omne quod mirari jure possumus, redigitur ad quantitatem, quæ in hoc sacramento per se est, et *habet modum substantiæ* ("De Sacr.," lib. ii., cap. iii.: Op., p. 353; Paris, 1571).

Lanfranc had taught that the change of the elemental substances was made "reservatis ipsarum rerum speciebus et quibusdam *aliis qualitatibus*." (See Hagenbach's "Hist. of Doctrines," vol. ii., p. 95; Clark.)

In the "Theologia Germanica" of 1531 (to be carefully distinguished from the earlier work of the same name), it is said: "Panis et vini accidentia nobilitantur super universa cœtera accidentia: nam acquirunt *vim substantialem* et fiunt tegumenta, sub quibus Corpus et anima ac Deitas Christi latet. Quapropter in sacramento altaris colere debemus non solum præsentem Carnem et Sanguinem Christi, potissime suam humanitatem et sanctissimam Deitatem: sed etiam panis et vini formam tanquam vestem et signum veri Corporis et Sanguinis Christi. Non quia eadem accidentia inhærent præsenti Corpori et Sanguini Christi: sed quia per se subsistunt absque omni substantia. *Vim* denique *substantialem* operantur utpote realiter *nutriendi* seu *reficiendi* corpus hominis: in signum spiritualis nutritionis et refectionis per eucharistiam fiendæ" (cap. lxvi.).

So, again, it was asserted by one, whose ridiculous *quodlibets* seem to have been highly esteemed, that the accidents had all the same operations as if the substance remained ("ac si esset ibi substantia panis et vini"), "Possunt corrumpi, et generari ex eis substantia: et potest homo ex eis ali, augeri, nutriti, saturari ei inebriari . . . hoc etiam fit miraculose, quia ex accidente non potest naturaliter et de per se generari substantia" ("De Sacrosancto Euchar. Sacr. . . . nova admodum et facillima quodlibeta per Cyprianum Beneti . . . Doctorem Parisiensem," qu. xiv.; Holtzel, Nuremberg, 1516).

And Suarez declares that the opinion that the consecrated bread does not nourish, "antiquata jam est, et ut improbabilis omnino a Scholis rejecta" (Disput. lvii., § 3). Various opinions of the Schoolmen on the subject will be found in the works of J. Forbes of Corse, vol. ii., pp. 541 *sqq.*; Amst. 1702. See also especially Valckenier's "Roma Paganizans," pp. 382 *sqq.*, 1656.

Even Innocent III. wrote: "Non solum accidentales, verum etiam naturales proprietates remanere videntur, ut paneitas, quæ saturando famem expellit, et vinitas quæ satiando sitim extinguit. Dicamus ergo, quod forma panis frangitur et atteritur, sed Corpus Christi sumitur et comeditur" ("Myst. Miss.," lib. iv., cap. ix.: Op., tom. i., p. 379; Colon,

seems to imply of necessity some difference in the conception of "transubstantiation"—a difference as to the position of

1675). And to this sense he would reduce the "Ego Berengarius" (cap. x., p. 380). And Innocent V. wrote: "Communiter dicitur quod nutritunt, sicut patet ad sensum." And in answer to objection, "Accidens non potest converti in substantiam," he said: "Hoc verum est de eo quod est accidens, et retinet modum accidentis, sed species hæc habent modum substantiæ" (Op., tom. iv., p. 135; Tolos, 1651).

Ludovicus Pius is said to have received nothing but the Eucharist for forty days together. We are told of "some holy men" who would feed on nothing but the Eucharist. (See "Plain Representation of Transubstantiation," p. 6; London, 1687.)

There was difference of opinion on the subject after the Council of Trent as well as before.

Albertinus ("De Eucharistia," lib. i., cap. xix., pp. 120, 121) names Algerus, Guitmundus, and Waldensis as denying that the consecrated elements *do* nourish; and Thomas, Ægidius, Ferrariensis, and Bellarmine as maintaining that the *accidents* can nourish; but Suarez, Vasquez, Becanus, Gamachæus, and Ysambertus as denying, indeed, that accidents alone can nourish, but maintaining, "Eucharistiam alere, quia eo ipso momento quo species panis et vini corrumpantur, producit Deus de novo substantiam, aut materiam aliquam." But Thomas declares: "Non rationabiliter videtur dici quod miraculose aliquod accidat in hoc sacramento nisi ex ipsa consecratione." "Non potest substantia panis et vini redire, nisi Corpore aut Sanguine Christi iterum converso in substantiam panis et vini, quod est impossibile." (See Wyclif, "De Eucharistiâ," p. 145.)

Cardinal Alan says: "Solebant accidentia panis relicta propter officium pascendi communi nomine cibi, panis, vel terrestris alimenti appellari" ("De Euch. Sacr.," lib. i., cap. xxxvi.; "Lib. Tres.," p. 430; Antwerp, 1576).

Campion the Jesuit maintained, as against Fulke, that accidents "do feede" (Third Day's Conference, arg. iii., "True Report of Disputation"; London, 1583).

Gregory de Valentia holds that "Sacramentum ipsum, secundum panis et vini species in alimentum Corporis transit" ("Exam. Myst. Calv.," lib. iii., cap. v., arg. ii.; Op., p. 629; Paris, 1610).

The doctrine of the "Ego Berengarius" may doubtless have had its survivals. And some few among the scholastics and later divines may not only have defended its language, but made some sort of approach to its natural sense. It is a mistake, however, to argue—as has been argued—that the transubstantiation which was so strongly opposed by our Reformers and subsequent English divines was only the gross conception

the *dividing line* between subject and accidents. In the one case, *paneity* (in some sense) would naturally seem to be on

of the doctrine. The language of Cranmer ("On Lord's Supper," p. 112, P.S. edit.) might suffice to make it clear that it was quite well understood by our Reformers that anything like *that* doctrine had been generally rejected in favour of what may be called the scholastic spiritual doctrine (see papers on the "Eucharistic Presence," pp. 17-19. See also Forbes, "Consid. Mod.," A. C. L., vol. ii., p. 503), which Bellarmine affirms to be the "Sententia Theologorum communis" ("De Sacr. Euch.," lib. i., cap. ii.; "De Controv.," tom. iii., c. 462).

It may be going perhaps somewhat too far to say, with Bishop Thirlwall, that "according to the interpretation of Sancta Clara, the object of the Article (Art. xxviii.) was to gainsay that which *nobody ever affirmed*" ("Remains," vol. i., p. 241). But it may, we believe, be safely asserted that there is no sufficient evidence that such a carnal presence of Christ—"id est, quasi Christus modo naturali seu carnali hic existeret, et dentibus nostris masticetur"—had any defenders, considerable in numbers or weight, at the date of the Reformation.

Thomas Waldensis is one, and Cardinal Alan is another, of those who inclined to the more materialistic views. Cardinal Alan, in particular, thinks that in this matter "multi Catholici male dicunt." He professes his dissent from Aquinas. And of the scholastic teaching he says: "Aliorum quorundam scholasticorum de motu, tactu, visu, loco, fractione et comedione, doctrina est plena curiositatis et periculi." He considers that this doctrine "plurimum juvat hæreticos." He defends the "Ego Berengarius." He says of it: "Quam confessionem non solum vulgares scioli, sed doctiores quidam Scriptores putarunt (sed male) improprie, et vehementius quam oportuit, fuisse conceptum. Sed retinenda est ad amussim, ut vera fidei Catholicæ explicatio."

He himself prefers to say: "Horum accidentium medio et ministerio, sicut per eadem ante panis, ita nunc Corpus ac Sanguinem vere a nobis contrectari, manducari, circumgestari, carni nostræ immisceri, dentibus teri, in hoc vel illo loco aut vase collocari, ibidemque per particulas *hic* et *nunc* indicari, communiter cum ipsis accidentibus, sensibiliter sacrificari, et oculis visibiliter adiutori adorationem proponi ac elevari," etc.

He claims the support of "Paschiasius, Hugo Victorinus, Guitmundus, doctissimi viri," and among scholastics, "celebris Carmelita Joannes Baconus, quem Thomas Waldensis mirè probat et sequitur in hac materiâ" ("De Euch. Sacr.," lib. i., cap. xxxvii.; "Lib. Tres.," p. 435; Antwerp, 1576).

It may be questioned, however, whether the views of Hugo would be altogether in accord with those of Alan. But it must by no means be too hastily assumed that even this teaching of Alan, as connected with

the side of the subject which is *gone*. In the other case, “paneitas” or “aliquitas panis” (see “Apostasia,” Wyclif Soc., Introd., p. xvi), but without the *substance* of bread (see § xxxvii.), is on the side of that which remains, and that which remains can hardly be confined within the limits of the stricter definition of “accidents.” On this account, probably, some preferred to speak of *qualities* as well as *accidents* remaining without a subject (see Occam, “De Sacramento Altaris,” cap. xvi. and xxi.). So the “Fortalitium Fidei”: “In hoc sacramento remanent accidentia panis et vini inter quæ sunt qualitates sensibiles” (lib. iii., consid. vi., imposs. xvii.).

Dr. Pusey has endeavoured out of this distinction to make a reconciliation between the doctrines of the Church of England and the Church of Rome (“Eirenicon,” p. 24, and part iii., pp. 80 *sqq.*). It is true that this teaching of the Tridentine Catechism may be said to make the presence *spiritual*; but there is a vast difference between the *spiritual* of the Church of Rome and the *spiritual* of the Church of England (see Cosin’s “Hist. Trans.,” ch. iii.). The distinction is admirably stated by Bishop Jeremy Taylor: “We say that Christ’s body is in the Sacrament really, but spiritually. They say it is there really, but spiritually. For so Bellarmine is bold to say that the word may be allowed in this question. Where now is the difference? Here: by ‘spiritually’ they mean ‘present after the manner of a spirit’; by ‘spiritually’ we mean ‘present to our spirits only’—that is, so as Christ

his doctrine of a “communicatio idiomatum”—so divergent from the accepted teaching of later Romanism—while shielding the “Ego Berengarius,” can avail to save it from the charge of being perilously near to blasphemy. Its original meaning can hardly have been that which Alan attributes to it. Its language, understood in the sense which is not only the most obvious and natural, but also the most accurate interpretation of its terms, will still be (from the standpoint of Roman orthodoxy) more heretical than the doctrine of Berengarius himself. The words “verum Corpus . . . sensualiter . . . in veritate . . . atteri,” seem certainly to go beyond, in their definiteness, what could be warranted by any “communicatio idiomatum.” (See “Eucharistic Worship,” pp. 55-57.)

is not present to any other sense but that of faith or spiritual susception ; but their way makes His Body to be present no way but that which is impossible, and implies a contradiction—a body not after the manner of a body, a body like a spirit, a body without a body, and a sacrifice of body and blood without blood : *corpus incorporeum, crux in cruentus* ("Real Presence," sect. i., § 8 ; "Works," vol. vi., p. 17, edit. Eden ; see also pp. 105, 106. See Bellarmine, "De Euch.," lib. i., ch. ii. ; "De Contr.," tom. iii., c. 461 ; and Cornelius a Lapide, "Com. in 1 Cor. xi. 24"). The opinion had been maintained in the treatise "De Sacramento Altaris," in the "Works" of Hildebert (c. 1103, 1104 ; Paris, 1708), and by Pope Innocent V. (Op., tom. iv., p. 120).

But whether the term "accidents" be understood in the wider or narrower sense, it is certain that the "Ego Berengarius" can never be reconciled in its natural and obvious sense with the Romish doctrine in its developed form. By the doctrine of transubstantiation, the Body of Christ, though present, is not the object of any natural sense.

All that is subject to the senses in the Eucharist—all that is seen, felt, touched¹—all this is to be regarded as not the

¹ It will, indeed, be found that transubstantiationists sometimes, in the use of incautious or inaccurate language, speak of seeing, touching, etc., as when Pope Innocent III. wrote : "Cum sacramentum tenetur, comeditur et gustatur, Christus corporaliter adest in visu, in tactu, et in sapore" ("Myst. Miss.," lib. iv., cap. xv. ; Op., tom. i., p. 383 ; Colon, 1575. Compare Hugo de Sancto Victore, Op., tom. iii., ff. 155, 290 ; Venice, 1588). But such language has its explanation in the words of Gerson : "Dicimus, nos videre Corpus Christi, dum videmus accidentia panis illius, qui in ipsum transubstantialiter conversus est" ("Tract. nonus super Magnificat," Op., tom. iv., c. 405 ; Antw., 1706). And so the use of such language is sometimes defended by maintaining that Christ is seen "ut est in sacramento," meaning that the species is seen under which He is veiled. "Quamvis Corpus Christi non cadat sub sensu, tamen species quæ ipsum significat et continet cadit sub sensu" (Innocent V., in iv. sentent., dist. x., quæs. iii., art. ii. ; Op., tom. iv., p. 113 ; Tolos, 1651).

So Peter de Alliaco : "Vulgo dicitur hodie *vidi Corpus Christi*, etc. Hic dico quod istæ propositiones *video Corpus Christi*, vel *tango*, etc., non sunt veræ nisi ad istum sensum *video et tango species sub quibus est Corpus Christi*, et sic intelligitur illud capitulum" [i.e., "Ego Berengarius"]

Body of Christ, but only the accidents of a substance, which has been changed by consecration into another substance—a substance unfelt, unseen, untouched, but really a substance present under the forms of the elements.¹

(“Quarti Sententiarum,” questio quinta, U.U.). “Corpus Christi, ut est hic, non potest tangi, nec approximari, nec est coloratum” (Faber, i., 178). “Oculi sunt in manibus, manus in pedibus” (*ibid.*, 137). See Edgar’s “Variations of Popery,” p. 350.

So Thomas Aquinas: “Hoc modo intelligenda est Confessio Berengarii, ut fractio et attritio dentium referatur ad speciem sacramentalem, sub qua vere est Corpus Christi” (pars iii., quæs. lxxvii., art. vii.)

Thomas Waldensis holds that the Body is broken “in sua essentia,” but not “secundum essentiam.” He adds: “Concedi debet etiam substantiam Corporis Christi ibi teneri, et frangi: sed hoc per medium sacramenti” (“De Sacr. Euch.,” cap. lvi., f. 94; Venice, 1571).

Juveninus has said: “Propter intimam et mirabilem specierum cum Corpore Christi conjunctionem communicatio idiomatum aliquo modo locum habet in Eucharistia” (“De Sacr.,” diss. iv., quæs. iv.). And this “communicatio idiomatum” was strongly maintained by Cardinal Alan (“De Euch. Sacr.,” cap. xxxvii.).

And so Pope Benedict XIV. declares: “Si accurate et Theologice loquamur, non est dicendum: *Frangitur Corpus Christi*, sed *franguntur species*: quanquam Theologice etiam dici potest: *frangitur Corpus Christi*; nam etiam in Eucharistia idiomatum communicationi locus esse potest” (“De Sacrificio Missæ,” cccxxvi.; Op., pars ii., p. 124; Patav., 1745).

This notion, however, of the “communicatio idiomatum” was *generally* disallowed by later theologians. It was strongly opposed and ably refuted by Bellarmine (“De Euch.,” lib. i., cap. ii., c. 462, 463; see also c. 499), who gives his own explanation thus: “Quamvis Corpus Christi in Eucharistia per se non videatur, nec tangatur, nec moveatur; tamen ratione specierum, sive accidentium, quibus conjunctum est, potest dici, videri, tangi, moveri, etc. Id patet, quia species illæ vere videntur, tanguntur, moventer; et quod eis convenit, usitate etiam tribuitur ei, quod est cum illis conjunctum” (“De Sacr. Euch.,” lib. i., cap. ii.; “De Controv.,” tom. iii., c. 461; Ingold., 1601).

Gregory de Valentia says: “Nulla est de hâc quæstione controversia inter Scholasticos et Pontificios doctores. Nam quando dicunt, *non frangi*, intelligunt Corpus ipsum secundum se. Quando dicunt *frangi*, intelligunt secundum species intime ipsi Corpori Christi conjunctas” (“Ex. Myst. Calv.,” lib. ii., cap. x., § 3; “De Rebus Fid.,” p. 608; Paris, 1610).

¹ It should, however, be noted that there were not inconsiderable varieties of opinion among the Schoolmen (especially among the Scotists)

The doctrine can hardly be better expressed than in the words of Archbishop Cranmer : "The Papists say that in the Supper of the Lord, after the words of consecration (as they call it), there is none other substance remaining, but the substance of Christ's flesh and blood. . . . And although all

on the subject, and that (notwithstanding the definition of Innocent III. in 1215) the doctrine of transubstantiation was not strictly *de fide*, before the Council of Trent. See especially the Preface of P.A.E.A.P. (Pet. Allix, Eccles. Angli. Prebyster) to his edition of the "Determinatio Joannis Parisiensis de modo existendi Corpus Christi"; London, 1686; and Morton on "Eucharist," book iii., ch. ii., § 4, p. 152. And even since, some Romish Minimisers have by tension aimed at making the doctrine elastic enough to cover a somewhat wide diversity of opinion, and the net has sometimes broken. See Picherellus, *Opuscula*, pp. 13 *sqq.*, and Archbishop Wake in Gibson's "Preservative," vol. x., pp. 8-20; London, 1848; and Pusey's "Eirenicon," part iii., pp. 79-88. For an account of the different views maintained by Dominicans and Franciscans at the Council of Trent, see Sarpi's "Historia Conc. Trid.", lib. iv., p. 309. For an account of the very discordant opinions on transubstantiation held by Romish divines, see Albertinus, "De Eucharistia," lib. i., cap. xxiii.; and Morton on "Eucharist," book iii., ch. iii., § 1; and Edgar's "Variations of Popery," ch. xii., especially pp. 379, 380.

The Reformers frequently appealed to the testimony of pre-Tridentine divines who had asserted that the doctrine of transubstantiation could not be made to rest on the words of institution, nor on any other sufficient Scriptural warrant, that it would have been possible, or easy (some would have said easier), to understand the words of Scripture otherwise, but for the determination of the Roman Church. Quotations to this effect will be found in Bishop Cosin's "History of Transubstantiation" (ch. v., § 3), from Scotus, Durandus, Biel, Occam, Peter de Alliaco, Cajetanus, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester (see the notes in A. C. L. edit., pp. 55, 56). Even Bellarmine declares : "Etiam si Scriptura . . . videatur nobis tam clara, ut possit cogere quæ mihi satis clara ad hominem non protervum : tamen, an ita sit, merito dubitari potest, cum homines doctissimi et acutissimi, qualis imprimis Scotus fuit, contrarium sentiunt" ("De Euch.", lib. iii., c. xxiii.; "De Controv.", tom. iii., c. 752; Ingold., 1601). See also Cosin, "Hist. Transubs.", ch. vii., § 26, and Forbes, "Consid. Mod.", A. C. L., vol. ii., pp. 462 *sqq.*

Cajetan's admission that "transubstantiation is not expressly taught in the Gospel" was so pointed that Pius V. ordered it to be expunged from the Roman edition of the Cardinal's works. See Edgar's "Variations of Popery," p. 362.

the accidents, both of the bread and wine, remain still, yet, say they, the same accidents be in no manner of thing, but hang alone in the air, without anything to stay them upon. . . . Nor in the bread and wine, say they, these accidents cannot be, for the substance of bread and wine, as they affirm, be clean gone. And so there remaineth whiteness, but nothing is white; there remaineth colours, but nothing is coloured therewith; there remaineth roundness, but nothing is round; and there is bigness, and yet nothing is big; there is sweetness without any sweet thing; softness without any soft thing; breaking without anything broken; division without anything divided; and so other qualities and quantities without anything to receive them. And this doctrine they teach as a necessary article of our faith" ("On the Lord's Supper," p. 45, P. S. edit.; see also pp. 254, 256, 324, 326; and Jewel's "Works," vol. ii., pp. 562 *sqq.*).

The Tridentine Catechism distinctly teaches, "panis et vini species in hoc sacramento sine aliquâ re subjectâ constare." It adds: "Quoniam ea accidentia Christi corpori et sanguini inhærente non possunt, relinquitur, ut supra omnem naturæ ordinem ipsa se nullâ alia re nisi sustentent." And this, it assures us, "perpetua et constans fuit catholicae Ecclesiæ doctrina" (pars ii., cap. iv., § xliv.). For a refutation of this astounding assertion we may refer to Morton, "On Eucharist," book iii., ch. iii., §§ 11-14, and ch. iv., § 9; and Albertinus, "De Eucharistia," lib. ii.; "Examen, August.," cap. xii., pp. 741 *sqq.*

It was well said by Wyclif: "Certum est quod omne simpliciter impossibile est summe hereticum; et iterum certum est quod summe impossibile est, quod quantitas, qualitas vel aliquod accidens potest esse sine subjecto" ("De Eucharistiâ," p. 150; Wyclif Soc.).

Descartes, seeing that it is of the essence of an accident to subsist in a subject, and that, therefore, to suppose accidents made by omnipotence to subsist of themselves without a subject, is to suppose the same things to be what they are, and to be not what they are, gave utterance to

language which caused much uneasiness to the upholders of transubstantiation. His philosophy accordingly was attacked by Arnault, as destructive of the true doctrine of the Sacrament. Descartes met the force of the opposition by "A New Hypothesis of the Superficies," saying that he hoped the time would come when the divines of the Church of Rome would hiss the doctrine of real accidents out of the world as an unreasonable, incomprehensible, and unsafe doctrine to be believed (see "The Absolute Impossibility of Transubstantiation Demonstrated," p. 38; London, 1688).

But the existence of accidents apart from their subject was quite unknown and unheard of in the early ages of Christianity. Evidence of this may be seen in Stillingfleet's "Doctrine of the Trinity and Transubstantiation Compared" (pp. 25-27; London, 1687). Anyone questioning this should read the long quotation from Maximus which is found in the "Præp. Evangel." of Eusebius (lib. vii., cap. xxii., pp. 337 *sqq.*; edit. Viger; Paris, 1628).

Stillingfleet says: "That no accidents can be without their subject is in general affirmed by Isidore Hispalensis, Boethius, Damascen, and others" (p. 26). And again: "The Fathers do not only assert that accidents cannot be without their subject, but they confute hæretics on that supposition; which showed their assurance of the truth of it" (p. 27).

See now how literalism has gone to seed, and mark well the seed it has produced. See rather how literalism, having attained to its full growth, has committed self-destruction. See how it has fallen into the pit which it made for others. See how literalism in its perfection has become the very perfection of all that is forced and unnatural in interpretation.¹

¹ Thus it was truly said by Wyclif: "Minus tropicat nostra sententia illud dictum quam sententia contraria que intelligit quod accidentia panis sunt figura Corporis Christi, quia illud infundabiliter tropicat utrumque extremum" ("De Eucharistiâ," p. 296, Wyclif Soc.).

Bellarmino himself will thus be found to be on the side of the *tropical* and *figurative* interpretation of the language of *seeing*, and *touching*, and

See how the words of institution have come now to be interpreted: "Take, eat. This is My Body. Take, but don't think that *this* is what you see Me give. Take, but don't think you can touch and handle what you take. Eat, but don't think to do what is commonly meant by eating." You are indeed to *swallow*¹ the Body of Christ—even the

taking, and *eating*. He speaks of the doubt whether such words "dicantur de ipso vere, et proprie, an per aliquem *tropum*." And after stating the views of those who maintain the "vere et proprie," he says: "At sententia Theologorum communis contrarium docet" ("De Sacr. Euch.," lib. i., cap. ii.; "De Controv.," tom. iii., c. 462). And he argues decidedly and forcibly in favour of the rule, that words which signify other changes than local motion—"dicuntur quidem de Corpore Christi ratione specierum, sed improprie, et *figurare*" (*ibid.*).

Have we not here a teaching which demands a *figurative* interpretation of the words of institution, and maintains a *trope* very far more forced (if not more tropical) than that of Berengar, Wyclif, and the Reformed? And yet, after this, Suarez could write: "Neque immorari nos oportet in referendis, et refutandis *tropis, figuris, et metaphoris*, quibus Protestantes hæc clarissima verba corrumperem conati sunt" ("Defensio Fidei Cath.," c. 149; *Col. Ag.*, 1614).

¹ "Mira res," says Hugo de Sancto Victore, "caro, quæ comeditur in imis, integra manet in excelsis" (*Op.*, tom. iii., f. 154; *Venice*, 1588). "Ad id quod objicitur, quod Corpus Christi verum manducatur, dicendum quod in manducazione tria sunt. Masticatio, in ventrem trajectio, et incorporatio: et hæc tria respondent tribus, quæ sunt in sacramento. Masticatio namque est specierum tantum: incorporatio est quantum ad Corpus Christi mysticum: *in ventrem trajectio est non solum specierum, sed etiam Corporis Christi veri*, quod ibi est quamdiu est species panis: non ergo dicitur Corpus Christi verum vere manducari corporaliter, quia corporaliter masticatur: sicut enim non frangitur, sic nec masticatur" (*Bonaventura*, "In Sent.," lib. iv., dist. xii., pars i., art. iii., quæst. i.; *Op.*, tom. v., p. 143; *Lugd.*, 1668). See Cosin, "Hist. Transub.," cap. vii., § 24. Other opinions were also held by some (see Ridley's "Works," p. 200, P. S. edit.).

Alexander Alensis says ("Sum. Theol.," pars iv., quæs. xi.; "De manducazione Euch.," memb. ii., art. ii., § 1): "Si canis vel porcus deglutiret hostiam consecratam, non video quare vel quomodo Corpus Domini non simul cum specie trajiceretur in ventrem canis vel porci." And Thomas Aquinas (*Op.*, 1593, tom. vii., f. 26): "Species possunt a brutis manducari, ergo et Corpus Christi." (See Cosin's "Works," vol. iv., p. 97, A C. L., note A, from which these quotations are taken.)

To teach the contrary has been forbidden by a Pope (Gregory XI.),

Body which is now glorified in heaven—but you are not to think that what you press with your teeth is Christ's Body.

under pain of excommunication (A.D. 1371), and is declared by Thomas Aquinas to derogate from the truth of the Sacrament. (See Cosin, "Hist. Transub.," cap. vi., § 2, cap. vii., § 27.)

Bellarmino asserts: "Vere et proprie dicemus, Corpus Christi in Eucharistiā . . . transferri a manu ad os, et ab ore ad stomachum" ("De Euch.," lib. i., ch. ii.; "De Controv.," tom. iii., c. 462; Ingold., 1601).

Again: "Respondeo, Corpus Christi vere ac proprie manducari etiam corpore in Eucharistia. Nam ad rationem manducationis non est necessaria attritio, sed satis est sumptio, et transmissio ab ore ad stomachum. . . . Non enim dicimus, Corpus Christi absolute manducari, sed manducari sub specie panis; quæ sententia significat ipsas species manducari, visibiliter ac sensibiliter, ac proinde ipsas dentibus atteri: sed sub illis invisibiliter sumi et transmitti ad stomachum Corpus Christi" ("De Sacr. Euch.," lib. i., cap. xi.; "De Controv.," tom. iii., c. 512; Ingold., 1601).

Jeremy Taylor calls this "a pretty device, that we take the flesh, and swallow down flesh, and yet manducate or chew no flesh," quoting from Hesychius ("In Levit.," lib. ii., c. 1): "Non comedet ex eo quisquam, i.e., non dividetur, quia dentium est dividere et partiri cibos, cum *aliter mandi non possint*" ("Real Presence," § 3; "Works," vol. vi., p. 29, edit. Eden).

For a differing authority, see Wyclif, "De Eucharistiā," p. 309. And observe that even the gloss there quoted recognises concerning the *Corpus Christi* that it "*ducitur per gulam*."

Bishop Cosin says truly: "Ex hypothesi transubstantiationis necessario quidem deducitur Corpus Christi posse esse in ventre muris sub specie panis. Contraria vero opinio non modo hodie a pontificibus non tenetur, sed, ne deinceps teneatur, ipse etiam Pontifex Romanus, additā excommunicationis poenā, prohibuit: adeo ut dubitare illis non liceat, quin res sit de fide, quæ a fide maxime abhorret" ("Hist. Trans.," cap. vi., § 2; "Works," A. C. L., vol. iv., p. 97).

As regards consumption, however, by irrational animals, Bonaventura said: "Est alia opinio, quod Corpus Christi nullo modo descendet in ventrem muris. . . . Et hæc opinio communior est, et certe honestior et rationabilior" ("Ad Sent.," iv., dist. xiii., art. ii., quæs. i.). This opinion, however, met with disapproval at the Synod of Paris, A.D. 1300. The doctrine of Aquinas also on this point was modified so far as this, that he held that an animal could partake of the body of Christ only *accidentaliter*, not *sacramentaliter* (see Hagenbach, "Hist. of Doctrines," vol. ii., p. 101; Clark), making a distinction which is not altogether easy of apprehension.

Thomas Waldensis held: "Quia gloriosum Corpus Christi caret ratione

All that you touch, and handle, and wound are but the accidents of bread which no longer exists. You handle and respectiva, ut sit cibus brutorum : idcirco quamvis reperiatur in ore bestiæ, aut in *ventre*, non tamen ibi comeditur ; sicut nec comederetur ab eo auri massa, quamvis reperiatur in ore vel stomacho : sed potest deglutiiri, per gulam trajici, vel vorari" ("De Sacr. Euch.", cap. lx., f. 101 ; Venice, 1571).

It should be added that Pope Innocent III. seems to have turned away from all such conceptions, and that his teaching lies under the condemnation of Pope Gregory XI. (see "Myst. Miss.", lib. iv., cap. xi. ; Op., tom. i., p. 380). He further teaches (following Hugo de Sancto Victore) : "Dispensatione completâ, Christus de ore transit ad cor. Melius est enim ut procedat in mentem, quam ut descendat in ventrem. Cibus est non carnis, sed animæ. Venit ut comedatur, non ut consumatur : ut gustetur, non ut incorporetur" (cap. xv., p. 383). See also Hugo de Sancto Victore, Op., tom. iii., ff. 155, 290 ; Venice, 1588 ; "De Sacr. Fid.", lib. ii., pars x., cap. xiii. ; and Peter Damiani, "Expositio Can. Missæ," § 6 ; in Mai's "Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.", tom. vi., pars ii., p. 215 ; also "Syn. Carisiac.," and "Florus Magister," as quoted in "Eucharistic Worship," p. 348). And this doctrine is followed by the "Fortalitium Fidei" (lib. iii., consid. vi., impos. xxiii., f. 74 ; Nuremberg, 1485).

But this teaching had been again corrected by Petrus de Tarantasia (afterwards Pope Innocent V.), who wrote : "Corpus Christi cibus est ventris susceptive, sed mentis finaliter, quia non nutrit ventrem sed mentem" (in iv. sent., dist. x., quæs. i., art. iv. ; Op., tom. iv., p. 102 ; Tolos, 1651). And it has since been put (as it seems to us) under the anathema of the Council of Trent : "Si quis dixerit, Christum in Eucharistiâ exhibitum, spiritualiter tantum manducari, et non etiam sacramentaliter ac realiter : anathema sit" (sess. xiii., canon viii.).

It had been urged in the Council that "posset articulus sic formari, exhiberi in Eucharistiâ Christum, sed spiritualiter tantum manducari per fidem, et non sacramentaliter" (Theiner, "Acta Conc. Trid.", tom. i., p. 416) ; against which it was argued by Visdomini : "Si vero intelligat, Christum vere non suscipi, dum etiam per fidem spiritualiter manducatur, falsus est : nam et vere in eos [? os] recipitur, et in stomachum etiam, si salvæ sint species, traducitur" (*ibid.*, pp. 428, 429).

Such teaching is defended by appealing to the sayings of the Fathers. But that such Patristic language is intended to be sacramentally understood is clear from its going too far to be understood of anything more than the sacramental signs. See the forcible argument of the following : "Theophilus the Christian : How think you ? Must this [the language of the Fathers asserting nourishment by the Body of Christ] be referred to the natural and true body and blood of Christ, or else to the signs

bite nothing but the accidents of bread; you swallow and eat the Body of Christ.

This comes in the end of refusing to see a trope in the words of Christ, and insisting on their being understood *ut verba sonant*. Surely we may well ask, Is this to interpret them *ut verba sonant*?¹

Well did Bishop Andrewes write: "Vestri homines, dum figuram unam fugiunt, mille se quæstionibus involvunt" ("Ad Bell. Resp.", p. 214. See Cosin, "Hist. Transubs.", ch. vii., § 24; and especially Bramhall, "Works," A. C. L., vol. i., pp. 14-19).

No wonder the "Ego Berengarius" stands condemned by

bearing those names when once they be sanctified? *Philander the Jesuit*: No doubt to the signs. *Theoph.*: And were it not open madness to avouch it to be really true of the things themselves whose signs those are? *Philand.*: It were. *Theoph.*: Why, then, since corporal eating serveth only for corporal nourishing, and hath a continual and natural coherence with it, do you confess the truth in the latter and not as well in the former part of the action? Why do you not expound them both alike? *Philand.*: To say the immortal flesh of Christ is converted and turned into the quantity and substance of our mortal flesh is an horrible heresy. *Theoph.*: And to say that His flesh is eaten with our mouths and jaws, and lieth in our stomachs, is the very pathway and right introduction to that heresy, or at least to as brutish and gross an error as that is. *Philand.*: The Fathers affirm that His body is eaten with our mouths. *Theoph.*: And so they affirm that His body and blood do increase and augment the substance of our mortal and sinful bodies" (Bishop Bilson's "True Difference," pp. 770, 771; Oxford, 1585).

¹ "Quis audeat manducare Dominum tuum?" (Lombard, "Sent.," lib. iv., dist. xii., f. 314; Paris, 1558).

Lombard distinguishes between the action of the hands and the teeth: "Illa Berengarii verba ita distinguenda sunt, ut sensualiter non modo in *sacramento*, sed in veritate dicatur *Corpus Christi* tractari manibus *sacerdotum*: frangi vero et atteri dentibus vere quidem, sed in *sacramento tantum*. Vera ergo est ibi attritio et partitio: sed in singulis partibus totus est *Christus*" (Lombard, "Sent.," lib. iv., dist. xii., f. 315; Paris, 1588).

See also Bonaventura's "Apology for the Ego Berengarius," in "Sent.," lib. iv., pars i., dist. xii., quæs. i.; Op., tom. v., p. 143.

Note also the following: "Sub speciebus illis erat passibilis, sed erat ibi impassibiliter" (p. 133).

such a teaching as this. How could the literal and natural stand before such a forced and unnatural¹ interpretation as that which results from the full-grown doctrine of transubstantiation? No wonder that the orthodox gloss of the thirteenth century condemned the orthodox language of the eleventh century. No wonder that the "Ego Berengarius" had to bear in its margin the words, "Nisi sane intelligas verba Berengarii, in majorem incides hæresim, quam ipse fuit."

But we have not yet exhausted the curiosities which belong to this retraction of Berengarius. We must not omit to notice the very curious use which was made of it in England three centuries later.

Assuredly we should have been little disposed to expect to find this retraction cited in support of the teaching of Wyclif and the Lollards. Yet in the treatise "De Eucharistiâ," which was written by Wyclif probably some time before 1383, and not long before his death,² this confession of Berengarius is pleaded over and over again as a part of Rome's Canon Law, and as a law which availed to bless and not to curse the doctrine which, under the teaching of Wyclif and his followers, was spreading like wildfire among the people of England.

It is certainly a very curious fact that Wyclif, who in his latter days and in the maturity of his views was, like Berengarius, strong in defence of the tropical or figurative exposition of the words of institution,³ should cite in support of his

¹ According to Bellarmine (to use the words of Jeremy Taylor): "The pronoun demonstrative does only point to the accidents, and yet does not mean the accidents, but the substance under them; and yet it does not mean the substance that is under them, but that which shall be; for the substance which is meant is not yet: and it does not point to the substance, but yet it means it: for the substance indeed is meant by the pronoun demonstrative, but it does not at all demonstrate it, but the accidents only" ("Real Presence," sect. v., § 4; "Works," vol. vi., p. 50, edit. Eden; see also sect. vi., § 8, pp. 64, 65).

² See Loserth's Introduction to "De Eucharistiâ" (Wyclif Soc.), pp. lx., lxii.; and especially "De Eucharistiâ," p. 117.

³ Witness the following: "Quia ex verbis Christi tam de sacramento panis quam calicis patet ipsum locutum fuisse figurative. Nam non

contention the very words which were put into the mouth of Berengarius as a distinct renunciation of just that opinion. Yet Wyclif is found contending that the words which in this confession are applied to the true Body and Blood of Christ, cannot possibly be understood otherwise than of that which is the Body and Blood of Christ, not in essence, but in figure.¹ If this is felt to be doing a violence to the natural meaning of language, it must be remembered that, from the standpoint of the newer doctrine, the fully-developed doctrine

dubium quin panem materialem accepit, benedixit et fregit et ex illo manducare precepit, quem demonstravit dicens: *Hoc est corpus meum, quod oportet omnino figurative intelligi sicut et verba de calice.* Nec dubium quin, sicut panem et vinum materiale assumpsit, sic ipsum sumi tamquam sacramentum mandavit; aliter enim illusorie equivocasset cum ecclesia. Et sic indubie figurative locutus est Joh. vi^o (ut patet per Augustinum); unde miror quomodo aliqua subtilitas potest ex relatione ydemptitatis ‘quod pro vobis tradetur’ excludere locucionem figurativam, cum antecedens locucio foret ad hoc efficacior; ut in isto dicto Joh. xv^o, 1: ‘Ego sum vitis vera’ foret evidencius quod excludit figuram loquendo ydemptice quam dicendo, sicut dixit implicite quod apostoli sunt palmites que inseruntur in hac vite. Idem enim est dicere: *Hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis tradetur, et: Hoc efficaciter et sacramentaliter figurat corpus meum quod pro vobis tradetur*’ (“*De Eucharistiâ*,” pp. 115, 116, Wyclif Soc.).

Compare the following: “*Sed replicatur per hoc quod responsio ista implicat locucionem istam esse tropicam: ‘Hoc est corpus meum,’ quod est hereticum, cum tunc foret falsa de virtute sermonis. Sed stulti sic arguentes oblii rationis argumenti vel consequencie, ideo oportet acute respondere illis iuxta suam stulticiam, negando arguciam tam in materia quam in forma.* Locucio autem tropica est verissima, summe katholica et miraculosissime conversiva. *Nec est color ex ipsis concludere quemlibet tam modum loquendi per locum a simili vel quod quidditas aut natura panis et vini corrumpitur pocius quam si peccator convertitur in iustum, ergo natura illa destruitur.* Sic, inquam, natura panis melioratur per benedictionem, quia post nudum esse naturale habet superadditum esse sacramentale, ut efficaciter figuret et faciat verum corpus Christi ad quemlibet eius punctum, et sic vere accipit sed tropice predicationem corporis” (*ibid.*, p. 153).

Thomas Waldensis, in his bitter invectives against Wyclif, constantly regards him as a follower of Berengarius, and identifies the Eucharistic doctrine of the one with that of the other. (See “*De Sacr. Euch.*,” f. 101; Venice, 1571. See also f. 72.)

¹ See “*De Eucharistiâ*,” pp. 26, 30, 32, 230.

of Innocent III., some such violence was of necessity done to the words, even by the staunch upholders of transubstantiation. The words of the Romish gloss are sufficient evidence of this. Indeed, in this matter Bellarmine may be said to follow pretty closely the leading of Wyclif.¹

But the artillery of Wyclif's vehement denunciation was directed especially against the idolatry² which he clearly saw in the newly-defined doctrine of transubstantiation. The novelty of that doctrine he would expose with an unsparing hand. The existence of accidents without a subject was a notion which—though he had long striven to defend it—he had now utterly rejected. That the substance of bread and wine after consecration ceased to exist—this he had become fully convinced had never formed a part of the faith of the Christian Church of earlier ages.³ In this position he

¹ "The Roman Council under Pope Nicholas II. defined that not only the Sacrament of Christ's body, but the very body itself of our blessed Saviour, is handed and broke by the hands of the priest, and chewed by the teeth of the communicants: which is a manifest error, derogatory from the truth of Christ's beatific resurrection and glorification in the heavens, and disavowed by the Church of Rome itself. But Bellarmine, that answers all the arguments in the world whether it be possible or not possible, would fain make the matter fair and the decree tolerable; for, says he, the decree means that the body is broken, not in itself, but in the sign; and yet the decree says that not only the Sacrament (which if anything be is certainly the sign), but the very body itself is broken and champed with hands and teeth respectively" (Bishop Jeremy Taylor, "Liberty of Prophesying," sect. vi., § 10; "Works," edit. Eden, vol. v., p. 458).

Joannes Parisiensis argued that the confession could not apparently be made intelligible, "nisi per panis assumptionem, et idiomatum communicationem." He adds: "Ista igitur confessio Berengarii paneitatem remanere et assumi confirmat" ("Determinatio," p. 96. See especially Alix's Preface, pp. 17 *sqq.*; London, 1686).

² See "De Eucharistiâ," pp. 26, 142, 143, 317 (Wyclif Soc.).

³ At the head of the Forty-five Articles of Accusation for which Wyclif's memory was condemned at the Council of Constance stand these three:

"1. Substantia panis materialis, et similiter substantia vini materialis, manet in sacramento altaris.

"2. Accidentia panis non manent sine subiecto in eodem sacramento.

fortified himself by appealing to the teaching of the ancient Fathers; but he appealed also—and on this point he quite fairly appealed—to the “Ego Berengarius.” He contended that that declaration was still a part of the Canon Law,¹ and that, according to this, there remained on the altar after consecration no mere accidents² of a subject which no longer existed, no mere species of absent bread and wine, but bread and wine themselves in their own true nature and substance.

It must be borne in mind that the one point which Wyclif is concerned to insist upon is this permanence after consecration of material bread and wine. And he quite fairly and rightly argues that this permanence is implied in the assertion that after consecration *the bread and wine are the Body and Blood of Christ* (see especially “*De Eucharistiâ*,” pp. 117, 125, 230, 231). He is fully sensible that there is an apparent

“3. *Christus non est in eodem sacramento indentice et realiter in propria præsentia corporali.*”

See “*Mansi*,” tom. xxvii., c. 632, 635.

And these very same propositions had been set first among the ten condemned as heretical in the Council at London summoned by Archbishop Courtenay against Wyclif in 1382. (See *Du Pin*, “*Eccles. Hist.*,” vol. xiii., p. 116; London, 1699.)

Yet from Wyclif’s own words we have the assurance that in his earlier years he had been holden in the bonds of the scholastic doctrine. See Loserth’s Introduction to “*De Eucharistiâ*,” Wyclif Soc., pp. iv., v. He declares: “*Licet quondam laboraverim ad describendam transubstantiationem concorditer ad sensum prioris Ecclesiæ, tamen modo videtur mihi quod contrariantur, posteriore Ecclesiâ aberrante*” (“*De Euch.*,” p. 52, Wyclif Soc.).

Almost all his works later than 1380 give repeated evidence of the change in his views (Introd., p. ix.).

¹ See “*De Eucharistiâ*,” pp. 4, 5, 32, 117.

² “*Super quo textu dat glossa pro regula ut omnia referas ad species ipsas, ita quod iste sit sensus: profiteor non panem et vinum sed species panis et vini per se positas non solum esse sacramentum nec corpus Christi, sed sub illis contineri corpus Christi. Et sic confessio Berengarii est impossibilis et heretica de virtute sermonis, sed debet glossari per suum contradictorium, cum hereticum sit quod panis et vinum remaneant post consecrationem sacramentum, sed sunt res alienæ nature, non panis et vinum sed accidencia que non possunt esse corpus Christi, sed in illis est corpus Christi*” (“*De Eucharistiâ*,” p. 225, Wyclif Soc.).

inconsistency in the latter part of the recantation. And he acknowledges the difficulty of bringing into harmony with his interpretation the "non solum sacramentaliter sed in veritate . . . dentibus atteri." But he replies that these words *must* be equivocally interpreted (see p. 230), and appeals to the *glossa ordinaria* in support of this view. And he adds that the former opinion of Berengarius (the view renounced in his recantation) would *now* be approved in three particulars (particulars *then* condemned as heretical), viz., (1) that the white object after consecration remains only a sacramental sign; (2) that it is not the Body of Christ; (3) that the Body of Christ is not the object of the senses nor the subject of fraction ("De Eucharistiâ," pp. 34, 35, Wyclif Soc.).

In truth, the "Ego Berengarius" was much more a contradiction and condemnation of the subsequent transubstantiation of scholastic philosophy than it was of the doctrine which had been maintained by Berengar. And Wyclif's word was fully justified: "Quod in tempore successit credendi varietas, sic quod illud quod tunc fuit articulus fidei jam est falsum" (*ibid.*, p. 32).

Indeed, Berengar himself had not failed to see how the language of his confession gave a handle to such an argument as that which Wyclif used: "Dicens ergo Humbertus ille tuus, panem, qui ponitur in altari, post consecrationem esse Corpus Christi, panem propria locutione, Corpus Christi tropica accipendum esse constituit, et illud quidem recte, quia ex auctoritate Scripturarum" ("De Sacra Cœnâ," p. 86; Berlin, 1834).

The truth is that the confession is inconsistent with itself. No intelligible interpretation can be given to it without doing violence to either the earlier or the later portion of it. If the language of the earlier portion is allowed to override that of the later, then—though not without very forcible violence being applied to the later—the confession must be understood to be a condemnation of transubstantiation, seeing that what is ground with the teeth must still be the sub-

stance of bread. If (as is most natural) the latter part is allowed to have the pre-eminence, then—in spite of the testimony to the substance of bread—we have the teaching of a substance too completely transubstantiated to be allowed by the upholders of transubstantiation, and of a presence too grossly material to be endured by the subsequent teachers of the Real Corporal Presence in the Sacrament.

See Sutlivius, “*De Missâ Papistica*,” lib. ii., cap. ix., p. 212; London, 1603.

The example of Wyclif was not followed, we believe, by any of the great divines of the English Reformation. Some of them,¹ indeed, wrote approvingly of Berengar’s sacramental views. But their references to the language of his recantation are mainly for the purpose of showing the discrepancies of the Romish doctrine, and the difficulty of reconciling the statements made at different times, or at the same time, by different doctors, in support of the doctrine of the Mass.

And we could hardly make this difficulty more apparent than by setting beside the words of Berengar’s confession, as inserted in the “*Decretum*” of Gratian, the following ancient *dictum* (“the very barbarous gloss,” as Bishop Jewel calls it; “*Works*,” vol. i., p. 503), which may be said to gather up the teaching of the ancient Fathers on the subject, and which has strangely been suffered to hold its place among the glosses appended to the “*Decretum*”:² “*Id est, cœleste sacramentum*,

¹ See, e.g., Jewel, “*Works*,” vol. i., pp. 193, 458, P. S. edit.

² This very remarkable *dictum* is the gloss on the following words, quoted as from Prosper’s “*Liber Sententiarum Aug.*”: “*Sicut ergo cœlestis panis qui Christi caro est, suo modo vocatur Corpus Christi, cum re vera sit sacramentum Corporis Christi . . . vocaturque ipsa immolatio carnis, quæ sacerdotis manibus fit, Christi passio, mors, crucifixio, non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio; sic sacramentum fidei, quod baptismus intelligitur, fides est.*”

On this extract Dean Goode has observed: “The words in italics are clearly corruptions of the original, being wholly inconsistent with the remainder of the passage, and also with the views of Augustin expressed in the passage referred to” (“*On Euch.*,” vol. i., p. 263; see also p. 241).

quod vere representat Christi carnem, dicitur *Corpus Christi*, sed impropre. Unde dicitur suo modo, sed non rei veritate, sed significati mysterio, ut sit sensus, vocatur *Corpus Christi*, id est significat¹ ("Decret.", pars iii. ; "De Consec.", dist. ii., can. xlvi., c. 1278 ; edit. Venice, 1567).

What a remarkable witness is here against the mediæval corruptions of the faith! And this on the pages of the

Wyclif well said: "Notandum quod inter omnia decreta sanctorum istud decretum cum glossa sua magis facit pro nostra sententia. . . . Recoleret, inquam, de textu Augustini, ubi dicit de omnibus modis contendere approbandum quod *caro est carnis et sanguis est sanguinis sacramentum*; et illam carnem vocat iste sanctus celestem *panem qui vere est Corpus Christi suo modo*; tunc enim verecundaretur de glossa quam hic addicit, hoc est: *improprie dicitur Corpus Christi suo modo, sed non rei veritate*. Beatus autem Augustinus exponit se ipsum quod ille panis sacratus videtur esse *Corpus Christi modo signi*, cum tropice et sacramentaliter vere significat *Corpus Christi*. Nec dubium quin Augustinus intendit per panem naturam panis, non accidens, quod tam expresse asserit *non posse per se esse*" ("De Eucharistiâ," pp. 224, 226, Wyclif Soc.).

Of the words as quoted in the "Decretum," it has been said: "These formal words, as Gratian allegeth them, are not found in any one place together in S. Austen or S. Prosper: howsoever, the sense and sentence is well collected out of Saint Austen, as also out of Saint Prosper" (Featly's "Appendix to the Fisher's Net," p. 61, margin). Dr. Featly argues: "In this allegation, unless you will tax Gratian with false quoting, there is a threefold cable, which cannot easily be broken. First, S. Austen's authority, out of whom S. Prosper collecteth this sentence; secondly, S. Prosper's, who in effect relates it, and approves it; and thirdly, Gratian's, who inserts it into the body of the Canon Law, and citeth both for it. The words both of Gratian and the gloss here are so clear against your real presence of Christ's Body, under the accidents of bread and wine, that never any Protestant spake more expressly and directly against it" (*ibid.*, pp. 61, 62).

¹ Although these glosses cannot be cited as forming any part of the Canon Law, yet the "Decretum" of Gratian bears conspicuously on its title-page the words, "Unâ cum Glossis et Thematibus prudentum, et Doctorum suffragio comprobatis . . . Glossis receptis a vitio repurgatis" (Venice, 1567). In the same edition, the Preface (by Hieronymus Messagius, Jur. Cons.) declares: "Illud [opus] ad vetustorum exemplarium fidem doctissimorumque virorum adnotationibus accuratissime recognitum, ut quasi ab infantia ad integrum æstatem excrevisse et adolevisse ad hanc sui perfectionem videatur."

“Decretum” of Gratian! This appended to Rome’s Canon Law! What a striking testimony to the simple truth as held by the Fathers, as contended for by Berengar, as upheld by the Reformed Church of England!

Let the reader be asked to weigh well the meaning of these words, and then endeavour to reconcile them with the confession of Berengarius, and we are sure he will then find nothing wanting to make perfect the *curiosity* which has been the subject of this paper.

Surely we have here a Romish witness to the ancient Catholic and Apostolic faith of the Eucharist—the faith which, cleared from the superincumbent weight of mediæval superstition, from the augmentation notions of Damascenus, from the more grievous errors of Paschasius, from the materialism of “Ego Berengarius,” from the dialectic subtleties of the scholastics, from the transubstantiation of Innocent III. and the Tridentine Council, was set on high by the English Reformation, and witnessed for to the death by our English Reformers.

This paper cannot be more fitly brought to a close than by a quotation from Bishop Jeremy Taylor. Speaking of the words of institution, he says: “We have reason not to admit of the literal sense of these words, not only (1) by the analogy of other sacramental expressions in both Testaments—I mean that of circumcision and the Passover in the Old, and baptism as Christ discoursed it to Nicodemus in the New Testament—but also (2) because the literal sense of the like words in this very article introduced the heresy of the Capernaites; and (3) because the subject and predicate in the words of institution are diverse and disparate, and cannot possibly be spoken of each other properly. (4) The words in the natural and proper sense seem to command an unnatural thing, the eating of flesh. (5) They rush upon infinite impossibilities, they contradict sense and reason, the principles and discourses of all mankind, and of all philosophy. (6) Our blessed Saviour tells us that ‘the flesh profiteth nothing’; and (as themselves pretend) even in this mystery, that ‘His words

are spirit and life.' (7) The literal sense cannot be explicated by themselves, nor by any body for them. (8) It is against the analogy of other Scriptures. (9) It is to no purpose. (10) Upon the literal sense of the words, the Church could not confute the Marcionites, Eutychians, Nestorians, the Aquarrii. (11) It is against antiquity. (12) The whole form of words in every of the members is confessed to be figurative by the opposite party. (13) It is not pretended to be verifiable without an infinite company of miracles. . . . (14) It seems to contradict an article of faith, viz., of Christ's sitting in heaven in a determinate place, and being contained there till His second coming" ("Real Presence," sect. vi., § 11; "Works," vol. vi., p. 67; edit. Eden).



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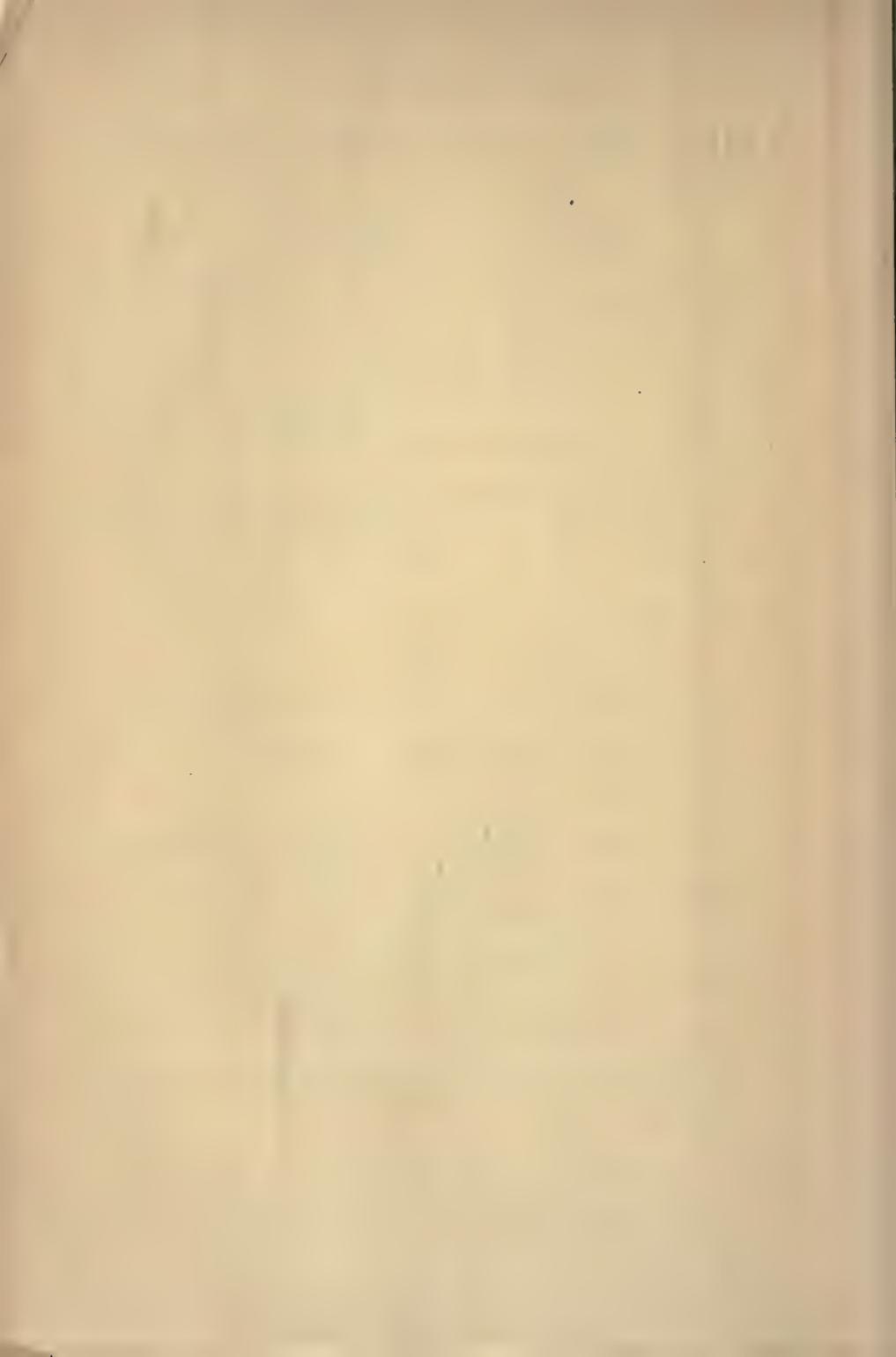
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